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Huguenot Silversmiths in London, 1685-1715

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HUGUENOT SILVERSMITHS IN LONDON

1685-1715

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APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of

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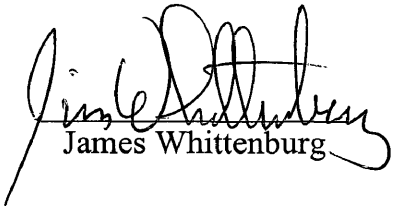

James Whittenburg

This thesis is dedicated to my husband, Jason Reusch, and my parents, P. Robert and Alzada Gallagher.

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The writer wishes to express her gratitude to Professor Dale Hoak for his countless suggestions and valuable criticism that he gave throughout this process. The writer also wishes to thank Professors LuAnn Homza and James Whittenburg for their time and careful reading of this thesis.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to study the assimilation of the Huguenots into London society from 1685-1715. From 1685-1715 thousands of Huguenots emigrated from France to London. The Huguenots participated in an accelerated assimilation into London culture as a result of their disenchantment with France, their ideologically, and specifically Protestant, alignment with England and the heightened demand for French-styled fashions. The silver produced in London during this time period provides an illustrative example of this process.

HUGUENOT SILVERSMITHS IN LONDON

1685-1715

CHAPTER I

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE HUGUENOTS

I. The History of the Huguenots in France

Less than six years after Martin Luther had written his *Ninety-Five Theses* in Wittenburg, the first Protestant French martyr died at the stake in Paris. In 1523, an Augustinian hermit named Jean Vallière was tried and subsequently burnt alive for 'blasphemy' against the Virgin Mary because of his belief in Luther's ideas.[1] A few years prior to this event the earliest French Reformist refugee, Lambert of Avignon, fled over the mountains into Switzerland. From this early point in French history until the mid-eighteenth century, the French Crown's reactions towards Reformists and later Protestants helped to change the demographic composition of several Western European countries.

Between Luther's theses in October 1517 and John Calvin's death in Geneva in 1564, a transformation occurred in Europe. Within these fifty years, new religious doctrines were devised and men founded churches hostile to Rome.[2] Between 1500 and 1517 most Europeans found the Roman Catholic Church healthier than it had been for centuries. The heresies of the Bohemian Hussites and the English Lollards had been suppressed. In cities throughout Europe, Catholic festivals and processions satisfied the

[1] R. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, 1985, p. 8.
[2] See, for example, E. F. Rice and A. Grafton, *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe*, 1994, pp. 146-177, or R. S. Dunn, *The Age of the Religious Wars, 1559-1715*,1979, pp. 11-18.

millions of believers and participants.[3] Luther changed all of this. Between 1517 and 1520, Luther became the leader of a radical attack on the Church. Luther's initial protest against the Church concerned indulgences, and his theses were the work of a Reformer. However, by 1520, with the publication of *An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, and *On Christian Liberty,* Luther was transformed into a revolutionary hero.[4] In these works, Luther attacked the very core on which the medieval Catholic Church rested. Two more influential Reformers, Huldreich Zwingli, a Swiss theologian who broke with Luther on the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and John Calvin, a Frenchmen whose doctrines fell somewhere between those of Luther and Zwingli, entered the Reformation debate in the next thirty years. Calvin proved more important than Zwingli in the formation of French Protestantism. Calvin was a second-generation Reformer, born almost a quarter of a century after Zwingli and Luther. Calvin organized Protestant doctrine into a clear and concise "theological system" called the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1564).[5] By 1564, the term "Protestant" was in common use. The word had a clear and precise birth. In March 1529 the Catholic majority in the Diet of Speyer called on the Germans to condemn the teachings of Luther. When a minority of princes and towns "protested" to this on April 19, the Catholics called them the "protesting Estates". Eventually, those who left the Catholic Church for one of the Reformist religions were called Protestants.[6]

While the *Institues* were first written when Calvin was only twenty-six, he revised

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[3] Rice, p. 148.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 161-162. For more information on the *Insitutes* and the life of John Calvin please refer to W.J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin*, 1988, pp. 21-22 especially, although other passages are relevant as well..
[6] Rice, p. 146.

it throughout his life so that it became the most "dynamic and influential synthesis of sixteenth-century Protestant thought".[7] In addition to Luther's main argument of "justification by faith alone," Calvin added the idea of predestination. In this core doctrine of the Calvinist Church, man's will is not free; rather it is in bondage to the will of God. In Calvinist doctrine, man is infirm, depraved and corrupt, while God is glorious, omnipotent and powerful. Election to the kingdom does not depend on faith; rather faith makes election manifest. "Accordingly, man falls according as God's providence ordains, but he falls by his own fault."[8] Eventually, Calvinism gained more acceptance in France than any other Protestant doctrine.

The first talk of religious reform in France occurred in the early 1520s. The central characters of this *pré-réforme* included Jacques LeFèvre d'Etaples, Guillame Brigonnet, and Marguerite d'Angoulême. While this trio could not be called Protestants, they clearly wanted to reform the Catholic Church. D'Etaples printed vernacular translations of the Bible, the first published in France. Bishop Guillame Brigonnet was a religious Reformer in his own diocese of Meux. Marguerite d'Angoulême was Francis I's sister. While this trio and their followers watched events in Wittenberg very closely, the actions of Luther did not loom as large in the parlements' interest. As a way to augment royal revenues, parlements were busy establishing new judicial offices and municipal bonds (*rentes de l'Hôtel de Ville*). The subject of heresy did not yet arouse the French court as a whole. The stand of the royal family towards the matter is unclear. Many believe that Marguerite's mother and regent to the King of France, Louise de Savoie, was

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[8] Rice, p. 163.

a Reformist. This historical conjecture is based on her journal entry from December 1522 expressing antagonism towards the ultra-conservatives of the Catholic Church.[9] Historians now agree that François du Moulin, a Franciscan advisor and tutor to the young Francis aided in writing this journal. Myra Orth hypothesizes that Moulin was the link between the royal family and humanist Reformers such as Budé and Erasmus.[10] Whether this is mere speculation or truth does not really matter. By 1530 Francis I had fashioned himself a Renaissance king. He became interested not in matters of religion, but rather in matters of humanist thought. In 1530, he established the *lecteurs royaux* for scholarship in the classics and sciences. In doing so, not only did Francis I bring the forerunners of the northern Humanist tradition to court, he also protected the leaders of the new religious leanings, they tended to be one in the same. This *pré-réforme* period is in sharp contrast to the King's attitudes in the later 1520s and the 1530s when he began to persecute members of the different Protestant sects.

James Farge and other historians warn that this analysis of Francis I is not as accurate as one would like to think.[11] Above all else, Francis I wanted to maintain his status as *le roi très chrétien*. As the amount of Reformist literature rose in France in the late 1520s, the Crown became aware of the threat it presented. However, Francis I had more pressing matters to deal with. Constitutional issues and the legitimization of powers plagued Francis I in these earlier years more than religious questions. Religious

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[9] Gordon Griffiths, "Louise of Savoy and the Reform of the Church," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 1, 1979, p. 30.

[10] Myra D. Orth, "Francis Du Molin and the Journal of Louise of Savoy," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 13, 1982, pp. 55-66.

[11] For the Farge thesis, please refer to N. L. Roelker, *One King, One Faith*, 1996, p. 192 and J. K. Farge, *Le Parti Conservateur au XVIe siècle: Université et Parlement de Paris à l'époque de la renaissance et de la réforme*, 1992, pp. 18-19.

issues entered discussions occasionally, however, because of the parlements' traditional role as guardian of the Gallican Church.

Since 1516, the king of France had the right to nominate French bishops. In this year, King Francis I reached an agreement with Pope Leo X called the Concordat of Bologna. By this agreement, the pope received income in cash from the French ecclesiastics while the French king gained the right to appoint bishops and abbots within his state.[12] Prior to this, the French king had dealt rudely with popes and allied himself with Lutherans and Turks when necessary to promote his presence in Europe. These factors made the monarchy and clergy feel already independent of Rome and allowed for a more peaceful solution to the Protestant question. Many Frenchmen felt that their Catholic faith was unlike that of many other European Christians. Consequently, they were more likely to accept a reformed Catholic Church, in lieu of a completely new faith. Those Frenchmen who did accept Protestantism turned to the most "clear-cut and radical kind, namely Calvinism, which preached at kings, attacked bishops, and smashed religious images and desecrated Churches".[13] Calvin, in his *Ecclesiastical Orders* (1541), laid out a religion that was not only radical, but also well organized. When French Protestants organized their own church communities along Calvinist lines, they became vulnerable to official persecution.[14]

Ultra-conservatives were unclear as to Francis I's religious leanings because of the association of his mother and sister with the Reformers. The dedication of Zwingli's *Traité de la Vraye Religion* to the French King further alarmed those already concerned

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[12] Palmer and Colton, A *History of the Modern World*, 1984, pp. 69 and 132.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

over French policy. These ultra-conservatives created a commission to deal with future blasphemy and brought the finished report to Louise in Lyon. This commission concluded that the spread of heresy was attributed to the decadence and deficiencies of the clergy, the subversion of justice, and the encouragement of people in high places.[15] The attacks on the royal family intensified, with the Pope leading the way.

The royal policy towards Reformists in France began to harden in 1533. At the death of his mother, Louise, and the disappearance of his sister, Marguerite, who went to live with other Reformers in Meux, Francis I began to listen to the more conservative voices in the provincial parlements. The King waited until the following year to change his policy dramatically. On the night of October 4 and 5, 1534, handbills appeared attacking the mass in Paris. This *affaire de placards* even reached the King's private apartments at the chatêau de Ambroise. Shortly thereafter, the university rector, Nicolas Cop, gave a heretical sermon. These two events speeded up the monarchy's extension of edicts against heretics.[16]

The second half of the 1530s saw a decline in religious upheaval. This release of tension was caused by both the death of the lead Catholic instigator, Du Prat, and the marriage of the Pope's niece, Catherine de' Medici, to the son of the King of France, Henri. In 1539 this good will ceased when a royal edict extended to all royal judicial courts the right to initiate repressive measures against heretics without waiting for royal approval.[17] By the 1540s, the Crown had issued edicts forbidding association with

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[14] Bouwsma, p. 24.
[15] C. A. Mayer, *La religion de Marot*, 1960, pp. 140-141.
[16] For more information see Robert Hari, "Les Placards de 1534," *Aspects de la Propogande religieuse*, ed. G. Berthoud, 1957, pp. 79-122.
[17] Roelker, pp. 204-206.

heretics as it was considered sedition against the King. Francis I joined together several key elements such as royal edicts, the Sorbonne's definitions of heresy, clerical propositions, and the *arrêts* of provincial parlements to form a structure for official French policy towards heresy. The tempo for persecution throughout France quickened. This terror came to a height on October 7, 1546, when fourteen members of the groupe de Meux were burned in a giant auto-da-fé in the Place Maubert in Paris.[18]

When Francis I died in 1547, his son Henry II succeeded him. Henry II had a very different temperament and manner than his father. While Francis I favored some accused heretics and treated others severely, Henry II was consistent in opposing unorthodoxy of any kind. At his coronation he emphasized the primacy of the king's religious obligation by saying his main role as king was "to exterminate all those whom the Church designates as given to error".[19] The Crown turned towards the more visible targets - organized groups such as French Calvinists who had formally withdrawn from Rome and formed new congregations to worship in different ways. From May 2, 1548 until January 1550, Henry II instituted the *Chambre Ardente* in which suspected Huguenots and other Reformers had to face a trial for their crimes against the Catholic Church. The sentence usually followed a prescribed pattern, namely a confession of one's errors followed by an *ammende honorable,* or a walk down a prescribed tour in the town with the accused, barefoot and close to naked, carrying a candle of a required size and weight.[20]

By 1551 another issue diverted the attention of the Crown from the Protestants.

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[18] Information on these persecutions can be found in Roelker, p. 212.
[19] N. Weiss, *La Chambre ardente: étude sur la liberté de conscience en France sous François I et Henri II*, 1889, p. lxii.
[20] More information on the *Chambre Ardent* and the punishment incurred can be found in Weiss.

The King's concentration turned from his native enemies to those overseas and to the war with the Catholic Habsburgs. The great persecutions of Protestants and Reformists did not increase again until the death of Henry II in 1559. His death precipitated a mid-century crisis in France, a crisis that weakened the crown and encouraged attempts by rival armed political and religious groups to dominate the young king.

By the 1560s the children of early French Protestants and Reformists faced a different environment than their ancestors. The French monarchy continued to try to regulate the French Calvinist movement. Always in a minority, Calvinists never proved to be moderate in their demands. The Calvinists became more organized and more hopeful of their future. The evolution of local, provincial and national synods linked individual congregations throughout France with other churches in a national network. Calvinist leaders held the first national synod in Paris in 1559.[21]

Unfortunately, the influence that the French Calvinists had gained in the first half of the sixteenth-century cannot be seen in the creation and implementation of the word "Huguenot". The word was first used in 1560. Before this time, Catholics simply regarded the French Protestants as heretics. However, in 1560 the term Huguenot came into use by the French. The origins of the word are unclear and the choice of the word Huguenot to classify French Calvinists has never been explained.

As the Huguenots became more solidly organized, they became enmeshed in politics. Between 1560 and 1590 the Huguenots metamorphosed from a fringe Protestant religion to a major French organization. Many noble families joined their ranks and by

[21] For more information, see Pettegree (ed), *Calvinism in Europe: A Collection of Documents*.

1590, almost one half of the nobility considered themselves Huguenot.[22] This conversion of the nobility was not accidental. Calvin actively pursued the nobles by sending the most exuberant Calvinist clergy to preach on their lands. He did this because he believed if the nobility became Calvinists, the lower classes would follow.[23] Frequently this conversion occurred when a lord decided that he should have the same rights as his German counterparts and claimed *ius reformandi*, or the right to regulate the religion on his estates, a right granted by the King.[24] In this way, many Huguenot lords in turn impressed their religion onto the peasants inhabiting their estates. For many of the nobility, the decision to convert was not completely religiously motivated.

When King Henry II died in 1559 in a jousting tournament, he left his country in a state of chaos, as the oldest of his three sons was only fifteen. With no monarch in control, the country fell apart. Although a minority, the Huguenots proved to be powerful, and did not go into hiding. Many were nobles and therefore members of the warrior class, and they acted aggressively and took up arms. Many also apparently converted to the new faith in order to equalize the powerful ambitions of the Catholic Guise family.

The Huguenot presence could not grow with the support of the nobility alone. While it is true that almost one half of the nobility converted to Protestantism, the number of Huguenots in the population remained quite small, even considering the large number of peasants converted by their lords. Huguenots consisted of no more than one-eighth of the French population in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the sect was located

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[22] M. N. Sutherland, *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition*, 1980, p. 228, and Roelker, p. 224.
[23] Bouwsma, p. 104.

primarily in southern France.[25] The aristocratic faction was spread throughout France, but was limited by other members of the elite who stayed faithful to the Catholic Church. The main centers of this new religion were located in the provinces of Dauphiné, Languedoc and Gascony in the south, Poitou, and Brittany in the west and Normandy in the north. Aristocratic leadership was not strong enough to keep the movement together.

During the latter half of the sixteenth-century the ecclesiastical organization of the Huguenots became even more important than before. This Huguenot association developed a means of governing through synods and colloquies.[26] The colloquies exhibited secular administrative functions for various areas in the realm. They provided some degree of democratic rule at a local level. Church leaders molded these two institutions into the web that linked town to town and province to province in a great national organization. The synods united all groups into one religious body. Thus whole regions, not merely groups, led the revolt against the Crown.

After the death of Henry II a weak monarchy meant that nobles dictated the policies of the crown. Many noble families wanted to use royal ineptitude to regain power in a decentralized, "feudal" state in which they could control the king, whom they viewed merely as a figurehead. The Catholic Guise and Montmorency families and the Huguenot Bourbons vied for royal patronage. All three families held power in the French realm. Francis, Duc de Guise, was a very powerful French general while his brothers Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, and Louis, Bishop of Guise, were influential in the

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[24] Dunn, German princes received this right at the Peace of Augsburg in 1555.
[25] For a discussion on the distribution of Protestants in sixteenth and seventeenth century French society, please refer to Roelker, pp. 201-205.
[26] Gwynn, p. 11.

Gallican Church. Montmorency held the post of constable of France and possessed immense land holdings. Along with being princes of the blood, the Bourbons also counted the Prince de Condé and the King of Navarre among their ranks.[27] While similar factional tensions had emerged in the past, the religious element of the competition promised a violent confrontation. Catherine de' Medici, Henry II's widow and regent, attempted to bring together Catholic and Huguenot leaders at the Colloquy of Poissy (1561) but her efforts failed.[28] Both sides did not want to reach reconciliation because they each believed that they could win without one. The religious aspect intensified the fighting; regions, not classes, fought each other. In 1562 any hopes for a quick peace were crushed when Guise entered the town of Vassy and executed all of the Huguenots who were worshiping there. The bloody religious war lasted continuously for another eight years. In the meantime, assassins killed leaders on both sides - the Duke de Guise in 1563 and the Prince of Condé in 1569. A cease-fire occurred in 1570 with the Peace of St. Germain.

This peace lasted until the marriage of Catherine de' Medici's daughter, Marguerite, to one of the leaders of the Protestant cause, Henry of Navarre. The opposing parties arranged this marriage to facilitate a peaceful settlement of the religious civil wars. Henry of Navarre was born in the little town of Pau in the Pyrenees on December 14, 1553. His father Antoine de Bourbon, Duke de Vendôme, was a nobleman of high social standing with little power. Descended from Louis IX, St. Louis, Antoine

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[27] For a more extended biography on these characters please see D. Buisseret, *Henry IV*, 1984, and, to a lesser extent J. E. Neale, *The Age of Catherine de' Medici*, 1943.

[28] A more detailed account of the Colloquiy of Poissy can be found in Roelker, p. 257 and D. Nugent, *Ecumenism in the Age of Reformation: The Colloque of Poissy*, 1974.

and Henry both had claims to the French throne. However, they were considered minor nobles because they descended from Louis IX's sixth son, Robert de Clermont, and many others took precedence in the line of succession to the throne of France. Henry's mother was Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre. Navarre was a tiny kingdom in the Pyrenees between France and Spain. The people of Navarre had accepted the teachings of John Calvin with enthusiasm. Henry was brought up a Calvinist and went to a Protestant seminary in Bern, Switzerland, for his higher education in 1565. He returned in 1568 to fight with Coligny in the French wars of religion. The year 1572 proved to be significant for him because his mother died and he stood closer in the line of succession to the throne of France. The wars of religion claimed many lives among the nobility and only two men now kept Henry from the French crown - Charles IX and his brother Henri. Catherine de' Medici, the King's mother, seeking to control the succession, married her daughter, Marguerite to him.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (1572) dashed any desires for peace. Someone hired an assassin to kill Coligny, a Protestant military leader; but Coligny escaped the attempt with only a grave injury. This angered Catherine de' Medici and the Guise family so much that they convinced the weak king, Charles IX, that Coligny and the Protestants were going to kill him and seize power. He was faced with only one solution, to wipe out all of his opponents. Many historians believe that this event was not only approved by, but also instigated by, Catherine de' Medici. Eventually the Paris militia became involved. Because of the discontent over religious ideology and the price of grain, the whole of France was soon in a state of unrest. Within one week, the mob in Paris had killed 3,000 men, women and children in the capital; outside Paris, over 10,000

deaths were recorded in various provincial centers.[29] The massacre proved to be a victory for Catholic Europe. It is said that when the Pope received the news, he gave one hundred crowns to the messenger and ordered a *Te Deum* to be said.[30]

Huguenot attitudes and prospects hit the noble participants especially hard, because of royal involvement and the scale of the massacre. Many abandoned their Calvinism and rejoined the Catholic Church. Those who decided to remain loyal to the cause were predominately located to the south and west of Paris in such strongholds as LaRochelle, Nîmes, and Montaubon. While many still believed in their cause and hoped that the Crown would accept their religion, they also knew that they were a minority and would be crushed if they did not express loyalty to the Crown. By the end of the sixteenth-century, the hopes of Huguenot success were quickly evaporating. The Huguenots were on the defensive once again.

The beginning of the seventeenth century in France saw the Huguenot movement transformed into a regional group. The strongholds of the Protestant faith were most powerful in the extremities of the French realm and in those provinces that wished to promote their autonomy. The members of the new religion were primarily artisans, cloth workers, and members of the petit bourgeoisie. Because of their professions they were unusually literate and thus did not identify with peasants in their areas. This fact left the majority of the population in all the regions, namely the peasants, on the opposing side.

By the 1590s the hopes of these Huguenots rested on Henry of Navarre. Because

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[29] For more information on the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, please see Roelker, N. M. Sutherland, *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the European Conflict, 1559-1572*, 1973, and B. Diefendorfer, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris*, 1991, pp. 93-106.
[30] Dunn, p. 36.

of his marriage to Marguerite and the misfortunes that befell the monarchy, he quickly found himself in the line of succession to the French crown. While Henry of Navarre was Protestant, he realized that the people of predominately Catholic Paris would never accept him as their king, and on July 25, 1593 he renounced his faith. One year later he became King of France as Henry IV. Once an enemy of the French crown, Henry IV found himself king. His rule commenced the Bourbon line, which lasted until the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, and again after the Revolution, from 1815 until 1830.

The renouncement of Protestantism by Henry IV alarmed and embittered the Calvinists who had fought side by side with him during the civil war of the mid-1500s. Henry IV finally neutralized some of the anxiousness created by his conversion when in 1598 he produced the Edict of Nantes. This Edict, with its 92 general and 56 "secret" articles, offered toleration to Protestants in France, limited freedom of worship, physical protection, and guarantees of a normal social life. The King allowed the Huguenots freedom of conscience and public worship wherever they had established religious centers by 1577, especially in the houses of the great nobles of France. Civil equality meant that for the first time since the beginning of the civil wars Huguenots were not excluded from universities or guilds. Colloquies and synods were permissible if authorized by the King. Henry IV even granted the Huguenots the right to fortify towns that they controlled. The Huguenots, however, had to pay a high price for their achievements. With the Edict of Nantes, Huguenots were expected to abandon all hopes of missionary efforts in the kingdom.

In the early 1600s the Catholic Church in France began to mount a response to the

Protestant Reformation. Henry IV's successor, Louis XIII, did not feel as much sympathy towards the Huguenots. He wanted to re-establish superior crown control and bribed many members of the Huguenot nobility with state positions of service or military commands. By the early 1620s only the Duc de Rohan, the official Protector of the Huguenot faith and one of the wealthiest Huguenots in France, stood firm. As Louis XIII gained more control over the nobility, the Huguenot cities rebelled. They feared that the autonomy they had gained through the Edict of Nantes would be revoked. By 1627, these cities had gained military support from the English. The Duc de Rohan decided to create his own kingdom, and made La Rochelle on the west coast his capital. Young, misguided French lords hoping for more power flocked to his standard. Louis XIII did not want a war with England, and thus had to suppress the rebellion quickly. Although La Rochelle became the stronghold of the rebellion, it fell to Louis XIII's superior armies in 1628.[31] In this town of 25,000, one-fifth of the population died and three-fifths fled. The five thousand survivors surrendered only when they were starving. Dead men, women and children littered the streets because the citizens were physically incapable of burying their martyrs. The active rebellion was over.

The Peace of Alais in 1629 ended the wars of religion in France. The monarch razed Huguenot fortifications and the Huguenots surrendered their *placés de sûretés*. The Huguenots no longer held a political advantage, and political involvement by the nobility ceased abruptly. Thereafter, the Huguenots became model subjects of their French King, wanting to live in peace as active members of French society. With the Peace of Alais,

[31] N. B. Gerson, *Edict of Nantes*, 1969, p. 133.

the Huguenots retained their freedom of conscience and civil equality granted by the Edict of Nantes. Louis XIII and Richelieu wanted to eliminate the Huguenot problem so they could turn their attention to defeating their bitter rivals, the Habsburgs.

Although Louis XIV, Louis XIII's successor, was grateful for Huguenot support during his struggle for ascension to power during the *Fronde,* he became a more devout Catholic as he aged. His devotion added to the Catholic revival in France, a phenomenon highlighted by the canonization of François de Sales. The French laity's hatred of the successes of Huguenots as artisans and merchants mirrored the Catholic clergy's dislike of their Calvinist doctrine and worship. From 1661 to 1679, steady erosion of the provisions of the Edict of Nantes took place. Three hundred and seventy Calvinist temples were destroyed during these years.[32] Artisans found it more difficult to enter the field; guilds restricted membership to practicing Catholics only.

In 1679, more royal direct action towards the Huguenots began. The rate of destruction of Huguenot property increased while the pretexts for these persecutions became weaker. The legal guarantees of the Edict of Nantes were withdrawn. The King's intendants removed Huguenots from those towns where worship was prohibited by the Edict. The French crown harassed the Huguenots by increasing the number of edicts restricting Protestant entrance into guilds and professions. Huguenots could no longer hold any public affects. The tensions mounted throughout the countryside as *dragonnades*, consisting of French troops, embarrassed the Huguenots and destroyed their property.

On October 22, 1685, Louis XIV revoked the edict that had sheltered the

Huguenots for nearly 100 years. To make this revocation more unbearable for the Huguenots, the French State forbade Huguenot laymen to leave the country. Louis XIV guaranteed that these Protestants could live freely as long as they did not assemble for religious purposes. Their clerics, on the other hand, were evicted from France.

Despite the King's request, the revocation caused a flood of Protestants to leave France with hopes of religious freedom. Their king had deceived them. Approximately 200,000 French Protestants left as refugees and went to the lands of Louis XIV's enemies, such as the Dutch Republic, England, and the Protestant German principalities.[33] Some 700,000 remained in France, creating a hostile element opposed to the Gallican Church. While they attended Catholic mass as required by law, many used forms of passive resistance such as silence during mass to show their anger. They remained Protestant at heart and deeply resented what their King had done to them.

II. Huguenot Emigration from France

From 1520 onward, Huguenots left French soil for safer countries. This emigration peaked during the late 1680s, during the four years after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Unfortunately for the French economy, many of those who left were highly skilled artisans and craftsmen. "It is hard to find in history any other instance of so wanton a blow struck by a ruler against the prosperity of his own country."[34] Many hoped eventually to return to their homes; unfortunately, for them this never occurred. This emigration was different than earlier patterns of European emigration. The Huguenot migration had little organization, as there were not sponsors waiting for them

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[32] Gwynn, p. 31.
[33] Gwynn, p. 23.

when they arrived in their new home.

The Huguenot's skills were portable and could be readily taken from country to country. Because of this, Huguenot emigration was very different than what would have occurred had the refugees been peasants or landed nobles. With their bourgeois French backgrounds, the Huguenots adjusted quickly because of their education, Protestant beliefs and commercial interests such as shipping and manufacturing. Trade provided many associates in other countries. These merchants in other Protestant countries such as the Dutch Republic and England made emigration easier. Many Huguenots used their business contacts to inquire about housing and employment in foreign cities before choosing a final destination. In general, the Huguenots who left France were better educated and trained than the common Frenchman. For this reason, when the Huguenots emigrated, French culture and fashions in the arts were spread abroad.

III. Huguenots in Britain

The Huguenots fled to England during four specific periods of French history. The first of these distinct periods was the second half of the sixteenth-century, when Catherine de' Medici of France and the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands persecuted Protestant communities. Many Huguenots then immigrated to England. By 1573, 5,315 Huguenots lived in London.[35] These Huguenots enjoyed the growing respect and friendship of Elizabeth I, as she was aware of the importance of these newcomers for England's economy. The second wave of Protestant immigrants arrived in England immediately following the capture of La Rochelle by Louis XIII. These two early thrusts

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[34] A. J. Grant, *The Huguenots*, 1934, p. 194.
[35] Gwynn, p. 30.

of French immigration into England proved important for the later immigrants who arrived after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In 1550 Edward VI turned over the church in Austin Friars, called the Temple of Jesus, to French Huguenots on the advice of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.[36] This church was later renamed the Church of Threadneedle Street. Thus, while the influx of refugees immediately following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes remains important, one must not forget that thousands of refugees left France for more promising areas of Europe over one hundred years prior to the great migration.

The third and most important influx of French Protestants to British soil occurred during the years immediately after the revocation of the Edict. Of the Huguenots who left France during the reign of Louis XIV, 40-50,000 settled in Britain.[37] This number can be partly attributed to the Declaration of Indulgence set forth by James 11 in 1687. This declaration promised James' subjects liberty of conscience and free exercise of religion. On arrival in England, the French newcomers gravitated to London and Canterbury. These two cities became the centers of Huguenot life in Britain. Most of those in the south of England settled on the outskirts of London, where food and lodging were relatively cheaper. Since the site of worship was located in the center of London at the French Church of London on Threadneedle Street, many families would make the long trek to the heart of the city for Sunday worship. While the Huguenots tended to cluster on the outskirts of the communities in which they worked and worshipped, they also tended to settle in groups. By 1700, two distinct groups of Huguenots were located

[36] For more information, see D. Peddigree, *Foreign Protestant.*
[37] Gwynn, p. 35.

in East London, at Spitalfields, and in West London, at Leicasterfields and Soho. The rapid growth of these eastern and western suburbs during the later Stuart period owes something to the influx of Huguenots into the country. By 1700, French exiles constituted 5% of London's population, at a time when one of every ten inhabitants of England lived in and around the capital.[38] More than one-third of Huguenot refugees to England remained in London.

These Huguenots migrated to London rather than other areas of England for a variety of reasons. Firstly, London held the most prospects for contact with other Huguenot families. This was important to the Huguenots. Continental connections through English Channel trade meant more possibility of hearing news about loved ones still in France. In addition, these connections meant more promise for overseas patronage for the many Huguenot artisans. Secondly, many Huguenots left France with little or no capital and Huguenots inhabiting the city of London provided more relief assistance to incoming refugees than any other Huguenot society in England. The Huguenot churches and mutual aid societies developed by the congregations provided this assistance. By 1700, thirty-five Huguenot churches dotted the London landscape.[39] The oldest one of these, located at Threadneedle Street, led the crusade to help poorer Huguenots. This was the church to which Huguenots came for recognition, and it was the birthplace of fraternal organizations such as the Foresters and the Odd Fellows which were developed to help in the cause.[40] Richer immigrants helped their poorer counterparts with relief. A

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[38] Gwynn, p. 36.
[39] G. E. Reaman, *The Trail of the Huguenots*, 1963, p. 80.
[40] S. Smiles, *The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland*, 1868, p. 255.

sum of £200,000 was collected and invested for the benefit of the less fortunate and the annual interest of £15,000 was entrusted to a committee for distribution, while £2,000 a year was given to poor French ministers and their churches.[41] This was obviously a deciding factor for many in finding a place of residence and why many never left once they had arrived. Lastly, London held the best prospects for employment. Many of the Huguenots depended on wealthy patronage for their livelihood, and the wealthiest of Britain lived in London, where the court was located. Many of the nobility called London home for at least part of the year, which was promising for artisans seeking commissions.

The closest Protestant country to France, the Netherlands, received the most refugees. However, many Huguenots also fled to the British Isles.. The sympathetic nature of British officials and subjects to the Calvinist cause motivated refuges to immigrate to Britain. Many French communities were established in England before the first *dragonnades* of France. The *dragonnades*, during the reign of Louis XIV, caused much hardship on French Huguenots. These Protestant outsiders were subjected to mockery and torture by the French army. The presence of French descendents in England encouraged newcomers with possibilities of employment and prosperous businesses. The success of previous generations persuaded many Huguenots to stay in their new country.

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[41] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

IV. English Reaction to the Newly Established Huguenot Communities

For refugee settlements to survive under the Stuarts, the following conditions needed to be present. The refugee communities had to be composed of Protestants. These Protestants were required to promote trades that British authorities thought would benefit English society. These tradesmen then had to be prepared to teach their skills to their English counterparts. All of this led to the initial encouragement, support and, most importantly, protection of the Privy Council from the native craft guilds.

On July 24, 1550, Edward VI's Letters Patent officially established French churches in London. After this official recognition and subsequent legitimization of the Huguenot church by the English monarch, tension and hostility grew between the English and their new competitors, the Huguenot artisans of superior skills. The fact that these exceptional artisans lived in isolated communities made the British even more skeptical of their new colleagues. The host society stood to gain much from these artisans. Most of these refugees were poor and were willing to provide cheap skilled labor. These new members of British society taught valuable techniques to their British colleagues and proved to be a very productive people.

For diplomatic, religious, and economic reasons, Elizabeth's Privy Council had decided by the 1590s to lend support to the French foreign churches. Many Huguenots nonetheless felt threatened, as many British artisans feared that their Huguenot counterparts were taking employment opportunities away from Englishmen. The later half of the seventeenth-century saw the Huguenot communities assimilate with previously established English neighborhoods. This integration led to a time of peace between the artisan groups. Increased economic prosperity further bolstered this healing

process.[42]

V. The Artisans in London

Thirty-six percent of Huguenot refugees came to London not for religious, but for economic reasons. It was difficult for foreign craftsmen to obtain employment because of the historic nature of the guilds and their practices. By the thirteenth century, various frauds had plagued the goldsmiths and silversmiths to such a degree that an early attempt to regulate the standard of gold and silver wares in England was established. In 1238, King Henry III passed a decree requiring London's mayor and aldermen to choose six goldsmiths of the City to superintend goldsmithing and silversmithing and to establish standards of quality for gold and silver. Thus, from this early point in English history, the Crown established powerful control of goldsmithing and silversmithing in London.[43] The Statute of 1477 dictated that the regulations for Englishmen applied to all foreign artisans living near London. This statute ordered that all alien goldsmiths within two miles of London were subject to the Wardens of the Goldsmith Company. Because of this provision, when the Huguenots entered England looking for work, there was no need to admit them into the Company to control them. This condition was very different than what the Huguenots found in other countries to which they fled. In many of the other countries, the artisans were not under the control of local guilds, and therefore their regulating authorities, until they joined such guilds.

Because of this ability to control foreign craftsmen without admitting them, the Company fostered ill will between its members and foreign craftsmen, especially

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[42] Gwynn, p. 59.
[43] Scouloudi, *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1880*, 1987, p. 89.

successful ones. The more gifted a foreign craftsmen proved to be, the greater were the ill feelings towards him. Hence, the Huguenot artisan needed court patronage and royal intervention even more to prosper in London. Moreover, opposition to foreigners always mounted during hard economic times.

VI. Huguenot Silversmiths and Goldsmiths in London

An account of Huguenot households in 1593 recorded thirty-seven silversmiths in the Metropolis. By the reign of James I, this number had jumped to sixty-three.[44] The first prominent Huguenot silversmith to receive a royal commission from the Crown was Jean-Gérard Cockus. In 1661, he was hired for work in King Charles II's Bedchamber. The problems noted above concerning foreign metal workers can be traced through the career of Cockus. By 1679, he petitioned the King, complaining that the Wardens of the Company were denying his work assaying and marking at the guild hall. While the outcome of his petition is unknown, Cockus remained active in the craft until his death in 1697.[45] As early as 1664 silversmiths petitioned the King to obtain agreement that foreign craftsmen would only use English workers "and not Strangers in their manufacturer". This royal assurance was designed to allay the fears of the Company, who knew from experience that foreign craftsmen generally manned the workshops of prosperous alien goldsmiths. This posed a threat to native craftsmen, as many London craftsmen did not even have three hours of work per day in London.

This delicate balance could not be maintained when the flood of Huguenot goldsmiths began to arrive in the late seventeenth century. By 1681, Charles II was

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[44] Scouloudi, p. 94.; Gwynn, p. 73.
[45] Scouloudi, p. 96.

forced to issue letters patent recognizing the equality of native born and Huguenot craftsmen.[46] Despite this, native-born silversmiths stoutly resisted Huguenot craftsmen and this resistance led to formal petitions complaining of the ill effects of these Huguenots on the livelihoods of London craftsmen. Such conditions are reflected, for example, in the "Letters of Denization" for Pierre Harache and Jean Louis, two Huguenot craftsmen.[47] For a small fee, these talented French silversmiths became English craftsmen in the eyes of the law.

While many English workers resented these Huguenot silversmiths, the patrons of their work praised them. Their skills were enviable. Their techniques were both different from, and better than, those of their London counterparts. The new techniques brought to England by the Huguenots included pierced appliqué strapwork, use of heavier gauge silver and far higher relief work. Huguenot craftsmanship quickly captured the attention of the court and aristocracy. British craftsmen were influenced by such Huguenot work, and the quality of London silversmithing steadily improved. Native imitators of the French style included men such as Thomas Farren, who will be discussed later.[48]

VII. Sources

While many documents describe the wonders of the new Huguenot fashion in silversmithing, the attribution of pieces to specific craftsmen is quite difficult. Because of the practices of the London Wardens concerning silversmithing, the makers' marks on pieces of English plate are not reliable guides to the names of most artisans before 1697. The London Assay Office burned in 1681 and virtually all records of working gold and

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[46] *Ibid.*, p. 98.
[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

silversmiths were destroyed. Consequently, it is very difficult to establish that a piece of silver plate bearing a London hallmark dating from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries belongs to a native Englishman or an émigré or alien goldsmith.

This difficulty is further complicated by the widespread practice during this time of alien goldsmiths submitting their products for assaying under the work of a London goldsmith. Such pieces do not reveal the mark of their true maker. These problems of identification are compounded by the fact that until 1696 London goldsmiths were not required to submit their plate for assay at the goldsmith's hall if a patron had commissioned such plate. This assay mark was only necessary for plate made for stock; rarely would such stock items be considered historically important or ambitious today. A specifically commissioned plate, one that was not hallmarked originally, had to be sent to the hall and marked only when it was returned to be sold as part of stock made without a patron's commission. Hence, items made before 1697 could bear a date-letter that postdated the year of manufacture, possibly by a number of years.

The identification of seventeenth-century London plate as the work of specific émigré silversmiths is virtually impossible. Such pieces can be attributed to Huguenot artisans only because of their visibly un-English character or because they exhibit obvious Continental techniques. In fact, very few pieces of identifiable Huguenot silver have survived.

While Huguenot craftsmen contributed greatly to many different artisanal fields, their greatest accomplishments can be seen in their silverware. With their distinct

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[48] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

techniques and successes in business, men like Pierre Harache and Paul de Lamerie made Huguenot pieces some of the most expensive and sought after in London and the rest of Europe. The following pages discuss a few of the artisans mentioned above and demonstrate how their skills transformed English silversmithing.

CHAPTER II

ASSIMILATION

I. Important Definitions

In order to discuss the process of assimilation intelligently, it is first necessary to define a few key terms and to fully understand the nuances between them. In 1950, the United Nations officially defined a minority as "those non-dominant groups in a population which possess and wish to preserve ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions or characteristics markedly different from those of the rest of the population."[49] This term of minority has a slightly different connotation than the word "foreigner". A minority is a clearly defined entity, while "foreigners only exist in the eyes of the beholder."[50] For this reason, the identification of immigrants to any country remains elusive and nondescript, even paradoxical.

While the modern term "alien" was already in use in the early modern period to describe a person from another country settling in England, other terms have undergone a steady semantic revolution. In the beginning, the identification of "strangers" generally referred to people from another country and was at first interchanged with other words such as "foreigner" and "alien". The definition of "foreigner", however, steadily changed in the English vocabulary in the period discussed to include not only these "strangers" but this "foreigner" might well have been an Englishman from a different part of the country.

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[49] This quote was taken from Robin Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, p. 160.

One is a foreigner by chance as a result of circumstances, misfortune or banishment. On the other hand, one chooses to belong to a minority or fringe group. It is important to note that Huguenots, throughout different times of their history in England, could be classified as members of either group.

Interestingly, nationality is both a legal as well as a cultural phenomenon whereas the terms discussed above lay in strictly the cultural sphere. The definition of a national has always been tricky and has received different answers in the course of history. In fact, during the period discussed a third class of person existed, that of a "denizen" who held an intermediate status between subjects and aliens. In this early modern period, 'denization', which was granted by the Crown, existed alongside 'naturalization' which depended on an Act of Parliament. For the great majority of the Huguenots studied in this work, the granting of 'naturalization' status never occurred. Many of these craftsmen were able to practice in England because of the king and his granting of denizen status.

II. A Discussion in Assimilation

For a group such as the Huguenots, sociologists suggest that substantial assimilation requires three generations. However, I argue in the last third of this study that the Huguenots had reached a significant degree of assimilation only after two generations. This can also be proved historically through the use of a letter written by Pentecost Barker, an elderly residence of Plymouth, in 1762. This remembrance, written 77 years after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, recalls the Huguenot societies in England and how they had become anglicized during the period remembered:

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[50] B. Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement c. 1550-1700*, 1991, p. 1.

> Those, of whom I remember many scores, who came from France in 1685-6, etc., are mostly dead; and their offspring are more English than French, and will go to the English Church, though some few may come to us. What an alteration Time makes! There was...a French Calvinist Church, and a Church of England French Church here, besides a Church at Stonehouse. Many women in wooden shoes, very poor, but very industrious – living on limpets, snails, garlick and mushrooms...When I went to Rochelle, in the year 1713, I brought over several pair of *sabot de bois* (so they called them) for some at Stonehouse. But they are dead and gone.[51]

According to this text, from the Huguenots first arrival in England, they were equated with strange foreign customs. It is extraordinary that it took only two generations for the descendants of these immigrants to fully be assimilated into English society.

This early assimilation can be explained in many ways. The more disillusioned migrants feel about the environment from which they have come, the speedier the process of assimilation is likely to be. Before departing for England, the Huguenots had suffered years of *dragonnades* followed by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. These persecutions helped to convince most late seventeenth century refugees that they had little immediate chance of returning to France.

In part because of these factors, in two generations Huguenot refugees were absorbed into English society. This process occurred more rapidly in England than elsewhere, except for in French-speaking Switzerland.[52] The imitation of English society was obvious among these immigrants from the start. The refugees had always been alert to the English world around them, isolating and incorporating most of its salient features such as dress and language.

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[51] H.F. Whitfeld, *Plymouth and Devonport*, 1900, pp. 8-9.
[52] Irene Scouloudi, ed., *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background: 1550-1800*, London, pp. 151.

However rapidly this group assimilated into English society, it is still a process that could not happen instantly. The changing of a name was the first step towards assimilation for many of the refugees in the first generation; for example, Wood became the anglicized version of Dubois, and White became English for the surname Blanc. While these naming studies are a good measure in the study of assimilation, it is difficult when examining English records to ascertain whether these changes were approved by the refugee himself, or just decreed by the English government.

While French names in the first generation definitely became more English in nature, these Huguenots still wished to preserve their very unique ecclesiastical organization and their native French language. The refugees continued to use the French language, always an important bastion to the French Protestants. In fact, it was these Calvinists that had been instrumental in spreading one universal French language throughout the provinces in order to replace the Latin used in the Roman Catholic Church during Mass. Due to the clear linkage between the Huguenot Church and the French language, these immigrants were disinterested in learning English; without the use of the English language, the assimilation process would never be completed.

While the refugees all reached England with a particular religion, language and style, it is very difficult to live permanently between two cultures. The most important step in the assimilation process is the use of the host society's language. The longer a cluster of refugees maintained the use of their native tongue, the longer the assimilation process would take. As would be expected, Huguenots in London could not maintain their self-defined communities as easily as the communities in the countryside. Huguenots in London could not remain as homogenous as those communities in smaller

towns in England; in order to survive they had to break the language barrier much sooner than the isolated communities outside of London.

Another reason for the rapid assimilation of the Huguenots into the English culture can be explained by immigration practices. In order to survive a purely French existence, the very survival of these communities depended on immigration: Without the infusion of fresh blood from the outside world, French neighborhoods could not sustain themselves effectively. New arrivals were a vital necessity, the children of refugees merged fairly quickly into the surrounding population. In the immediate years following the Edict of Nantes, immigrant flow was not a problem. However, by 1700 the swell of French Protestants heading for England was greatly reduced. Due to the decline in the number of immigrants, a truly French congregation would shrink and slowly disappear.

The study of matrimony is also significant in the case of immigration: Jacques Dupâquier has termed it as an important "mechanism of self-regulation."[53] While various indices of the degree and rate of assimilation can be used, free intermarriage is probably the best criterion for full assimilation. In general, most new arrivals married other refugees. Their children, born in France, also frequently married within the refugee orbit. Thus, many of the children of strangers did not intermarry with the English. However, their offspring, the second-generation of immigrants, were much more likely to marry members of the host society. Weddings, reflecting the act of an independent judgment more than baptisms, reveal the individual choice of second-generation immigrants and their families. These unions became the most obvious rites of passage into the

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[53] J. Dupâquier, *La Population Rurale du Bassin Parisien à l'époque de Louis XIV*, Ecole des Hautes Etudes, p. 28.

surrounding society. Because of this, the majority of immigrants deserted the refugee community at the second generation. This illustrates an interesting fact: Choice, rather than automatic determination, governed individual decisions.

Another important criterion for assimilation is the degree of adherence to the original Huguenot Church discipline. This criterion goes hand in hand with intermarriage. Religious reasons prevented marriages between the refugee and host communities. The Huguenot church leaders found their church closer to apostolic purity than the Anglican Church and forbade many first generation intermarriages. This church discipline was soon substituted for an environment less ecclesiastically strict. The very number of their congregations, the development of new churches conforming to the Anglican liturgy, and the international trend towards greater freedom of expression for individual conscience combined to place difficulties in the way of church leaders who wished to enforce old ways. To bolster this, the Huguenot church had lost its heavy stream of refugees to reinforce old church doctrine and practices. The result led to the Huguenots being absorbed into the host community rather quickly. Judging from baptismal records at the largest Huguenot Congregation at the Threadneedle Street Church, the number of baptisms steadily fell from just over 7, 000 in 1685 to 5,000 in the 1710s and 1720s and finally to 2,500 in the 1750s.[54]

An additional unconventional way to study assimilation will be demonstrated in the last chapter. By observing the silversmithing done by the Huguenots and Englishmen in London before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and comparing those pieces to

[54] Minet, *Notes on the Threadneedle Street Registries*, p. 95.

craftsmanship at the end of the period of study, the assimilation process between the two cultures can be displayed. Historical documents further support this argument.

While the rapidity of assimilation in London must be noted, it is equally important to say that some families in London still preserve their Huguenot heritage to a great extent even today. The Church of Threadneedle Street is still a practicing institution, although the congregation is much smaller that it would have been three hundred years ago. It is not an accident that the Huguenot Society of London is the most important cultural and academic institution devoted to the subject of the French Protestants in England.

III. Assimilation in London

Apart from Geneva, the Swiss Cantons, the Palatinate and the United Provinces, England was the Huguenots' strongest shield. In the late 1600s, despite many differences in church doctrine, there still remained a basic solidarity between the Huguenots and the Church of England: namely the common and deep distrust and hostility toward the Catholic faith and more specifically to "popery" as an institution deemed to be the font of all Roman Catholic evils. Many refugees viewed England as their strongest ally against the Catholicism of Louis XIV. This opinion of the Anglican Church and views on England in general were confined to what the Huguenots had read in the French gazettes. At the time, newspapers were in their infancy and published news was trivial, anecdotal, and sometimes very inaccurate. The French view of England was static, born of an idealized image of England from news they received during the reign of Elizabeth I. Many of these Huguenots were unaware of the sweeping changes that had taken place under James I and Charles I, changes which encompassed both the political arena and the

mentality of the English people. This lack of a true worldview caused the Huguenots to naively interpret things they learned about England in reference to the values in their own society.

The uniquely French worldviews, developed in the shadow of Louis XIV's absolutist monarchy, had a unique effect. French admiration of monarchy made it easier for most Huguenots to submit to Anglican requirements and thus complete the assimilation process. After they fled France, many Huguenots transferred their loyalty to a Protestant monarch and the authorities of their new country rather quickly. In France, it must have been a psychological strain not to belong to the king's Church. In their new home, the Huguenots were at last able to be Protestant and profess the religion of their King. In today's democratic world, we should not underestimate the relief this brought. These refugees were seventeenth-century Frenchmen, brought up in a society of pomp and ceremony, both of which were lacking in the Calvinist service. Perhaps some Huguenots were attracted to this aspect of Anglicanism whose ritual and anti-Popish stance was still familiar and reassuring.

When the craftsmen arrived in England and established settlements in London they represented an unmistakable economic force. Their numerical strength and well-honed skills offered several guarantees to the state which welcomed them. Their arrival helped to cut prices on handcrafted goods and to improve the balance of trade with France in luxury items.[55] In the early years of the Huguenots' arrival, apart from occasional episodes of unrest and bouts of economic rivalry, Huguenot craftsmen fared rather well: at least they shared similar religious views with their competitors. However,

with the large influx of refugees after the Revocation, the rising number of foreigners settling in England resulted in strained relations with the native born.

Many illiterate Englishmen could not find religious solidarity with the Huguenots, because of their distrust of the Huguenots and their firm belief these "strangers" could not be real Protestants. A gentleman in London wrote the following letter to a friend in 1681 that describes the views of the lower classes towards the newcomers from across the Atlantic:

> The enemy had been so industrious as to waylay these poor people: and whilst they will not suffer them to live in France, they endeavor to prevent their subsisting anywhere else. Amongst some they are represented as enemies to the religion established; however, they profess the same faith, and desire to be esteemed as brethren. Amongst others they are made to appear a mixed multitude, part Protestant, part Papist: whereas it is impossible for any numbers of papists, or indeed almost any to thrust themselves in amongst them undiscovered; as it would be for a black among whites.[56]

To illiterate Englishmen, every papist was a foreigner and every foreigner was a papist. As can be seen in many circumstances, fear is often the root of xenophobia.

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[55] Cottert, p. 187.

[56] *The Present State of the Protestants in France in three Letters, Written by a Gentleman in London to his Friend in the Country*, London, 1681.

CHAPTER III

HUGUENOT SILVERSMITHS IN LONDON

I. Examples in Contradiction

The easiest way to understand the evolution of English silver during the years discussed is to examine the two-handled cup, a drinking vessel that existed in England before the period of study began. The basic form of the two-handled cup existed before the period of study began. The earliest examples in England date from the mid-seventeenth century. By 1688 English silversmiths had recrafted the earlier, boisterous pear-shaped body into a body of almost vertical sides. During the period covered in this thesis, the design evolved even further. The two-handled cup by the English silversmith John Boddington crafted in 1697 demonstrates the typical Carolean style (Plate 1). The Huguenot form of the same period exhibits a slightly narrower body and handles of a different shape, known as harp-shaped, rather than the typical S-curve handles of English workmanship shown on the Boddington cup (Plate 2). Despite the initial popularity of the harp-shape form, that form was eventually discarded in favor of the more traditional S-shaped design in Huguenot pieces. One can see this transformation by comparing the cup of Pierre Platel (Plate 2) and David Willaume (Plate 3). The dignity of the Huguenot cups versus their English counterparts comes in the proportioned strap ornament. English creations lacked these well-proportioned ornaments and instead highlighted gadrooning. Gadrooning can best be described as a repetitive pattern of slanting lobes which was

originally derived from the image of the knuckles of a clenched fist. One can imagine the cup by Platel (Plate 2) being used in a grand presentation at the table, adding dignity and grace to its setting. An interesting assay by a Huguenot manner is revealed in the cup designed by Louis Cuny in 1702 (Plate 4). This covered cup is very English in manner with its vertical fluting; however, the harp-shaped handles clearly point to a Huguenot characteristic. One can see how two styles existed simultaneously in England. Some craftsmen melded two diverse styles together to create a style belonging only to the silversmith.

In addition to the handles, the covers of these cups also lend clues to the design influences. The Carolean covered cup usually lay flat or almost flat. All of this changed in the early 1720s as a pronounced dome began to develop, this was influenced by Huguenot craftsmen (Plate 5). To match the increased height of the cover, the craftsmen raised the body slightly higher by inserting a short stem at the base. The Platel cup provides a classic example of this type of stem (Plate 2).

Different types of plate also demonstrate the differences between English and Huguenot silver. Daniel Garnier fashioned a chandelier for William III (Plate 6) which can be dated between 1691-1697. In 1690 Garnier entered his first mark into the Goldsmith's Hall. This mark, with its crowned fleur-de-lis and two *graines de remede*, appears on this piece. The chandelier exhibits some of the visual clarity found in more refined Huguenot work. The strong baluster and vaselike forms on the shaft and the bold scrolls of the arms are tightly composed and appear very controlled. The decorative means implemented in this piece are economical and there is an exceptional contrast between plain and embellished surfaces. This piece also exemplifies the highly technical

competence of the Huguenot silversmith. One can compare the technique used in crafting this piece with the candlestick by Thomas Merry produced in London in 1712/13 (Plate 7). The latter candlestick is much simpler in design and lacks the bold details found in the chandelier of Huguenot fashion. The piece appears to have been crafted much earlier than the chandelier; however, it was manufactured ten years later than the Garnier piece. The style appears heavy and solid compared to the swirling delicacy found in the arms of the chandelier.

A pair of tankards helps to define the different styles as well. The plain raised cylindrical tankard (Plate 8) with slightly tapered sides has applied moldings at its base and lip. The scroll handle is raised in two sections and a three-part hinge and cast bifurcated thumb-piece join handle and cover. The flat, single-stepped cover is raised and has applied lip and seamed bezel. A thin line is engraved around the lip. The tankard attributed to Paul de Lamerie deftly stands in contrast with this (Plate 9). This work displays a raised cylindrical body with applied moldings at its lip and base, each seamed once vertically. The five-part hinge, more skillful and detailed than the English example of a three-part hinge, finial and cast scroll join the handle to cover.

Two sets of casters made by George Gathorne, an English master, and by Pierre Harache, also demonstrate this point. The first set of three by George Gathorne relies heavily on engraving and vertical fluting for design elements (Plate 10). Pierre Harache used a more skillful technique of embossed decoration to craft a piece more substantial and ornate (Plate 11). The same resemblance can be made when comparing the candlesticks of Pierre Platel (Plate 12) with those of the English silversmith Anthony Nelme (Plate 13). In light of the difference between the two predominant schools of

silversmithing in London, let us turn to the question of how the Huguenot style became more popular and the older English style faded away.

II. A Brief Discussion of the Art of Silversmithing

While the year 1685 is key to understanding Huguenot history, for the Huguenot silversmiths of London the year 1688 would prove to be much more important. The Glorious Revolution had a very surprising impact on the silversmith craft in London. The Revolution of 1688-89 ousted a Catholic sovereign from the English throne in favor of the Protestants, William of Orange and his wife, Mary. As noted in a previous chapter, many Huguenots had come to England, and more specifically London, before 1688 but the accession of William III and Mary II made England a more secure refuge for them. By the 1680s France led fashions in applied arts throughout Western Europe, but not in London. In London the aristocracy and upper classes still looked to the Dutch for artistic inspiration. This all changed after the accession of William and Mary.

The arrival of William and Mary in England, and the many French silversmiths who served them, set a seal of royal approval for the French style. In fact, a number of Huguenots who at first landed in the Netherlands followed the Orange court to England. For example, William III's own court architect and designer, Daniel Marot, was a Huguenot refugee born in Paris. He entered the service of William of Orange in 1685, months after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[57] He is known to have been in London in 1695 and 1696 and again in 1698, and his version of the monumental Louis

[57] He described himself in letters to his relatives in France as "*Architecte du Roy de la Grande Bretagne*".

XIV style was widely spread by the large number of sheets of engraved ornament that he published after his designs.[58]

Before 1688, the English government had allowed only a small group of Huguenot refugee silversmiths to set up independent shops in London. After 1688, because of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the political situation in England, the French flooded the city. In this respect, the French silversmiths held the advantage; they happened to arrive in London when a change in fashion was occurring. Soon they began to earn their livelihood by securing major orders for new plate in London.

The "French" style in silversmithing had the most pervasive influence on English silver during the later half of the seventeenth century. It first appeared at court just after the Restoration. The "William and Mary" style is in fact almost purely French. The "consumer base" for the silversmith increased dramatically in the years immediately following the Glorious Revolution. People bought more silver during what proved to be a period of prosperity. Recent studies show that while the production of new silverware increased, it did not keep pace with the general growth in economic prosperity of the period.[59] This is the first time in history when the supply for new silver did not outweigh the demand. The new fashion in "all things French" generated by Louis XIV's example introduced new customs into court society which helped the silversmiths increase profits. Less was spent on sets of heavy serving platters and dishes that had hitherto been necessary to serve elaborate pies and other old-style English gastronomical creations.

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[58] For more information on Daniel Marot please see J.F. Hayward, *Huguenot Silver in England: 1688-1727*, 1959.

[59] David Mitchell, "Innovation and the transfer of skill in the goldsmiths' trade in Restoration London", in *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers*, 1995, p. 12.

This freed up funds for the newer dining necessities, such as the cruet stand, sauce boat and tureen required for *dining á la francaise.* The English also demanded wares for serving coffee, chocolate and tea; these demands were met with a host of new vessels. Most such vessels, however, had no stylistic parallel to contemporary French silver that the clients sought to copy. Instead, these pieces displayed the distinct style of the French refugees who obtained the commissions because of their origins.

French customs in eating and drinking differed from those current in England and we find these differences reflected in some of the Huguenot productions. The range of English silver was certainly enriched by the Huguenots who introduced, by way of their workshops, the tall helmet-shaped ewer (Plate 14), the pilgrim bottle (Plate 15), the soup tureen (Plate 16) and the *écuelle,* a flat covered bowl with two flat ear-like handles (Plate 17). This last piece was never as popular in England as it had been on the Continent, where it was the standard present in the middling and upper classes made by a husband to a wife in the childbed. Conversely, silversmiths produced beer tankards in large numbers in England. These tankards were not used in France. Nevertheless Huguenots made several of these for their English customers. Hence, fashion and lifestyle drove silversmithing trends in these instances.[60]

Silver vessels were in most cases produced not by one craftsman, but rather in a workshop. The mark struck on the piece was that of the master of the workshop who may have actually forged the piece or simply acted as retailer for the piece in question. A silversmith normally worked as a journeyman before he set up as an independent master.

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[60] Please refer to Colin Clair, *Kitchen and Table,* 1964 and Sarah Paston-Williams, *The Art of Dining,* 1993 for more information on dining patterns.

It follows that some pieces bearing the mark of one silversmith could in fact have been made by another, more distinguished craftsmen before he established his own practice. In the same way, many of the Huguenots must have worked for London-born silversmiths, while native silversmiths took other goods to the Hall for assay. From all of this, it is easy to see that the presence of a particular mark is not absolute proof that the piece was made by the silversmith to whom the mark belonged.

The years 1697-1725 marked the greatest period in English silversmithing, largely because of the newly enforced Britannia standard.[61] The quantity of orders placed with silversmiths after the accession of William and Mary was such that there was no longer enough bullion available in the trade to meet orders. As the sterling standard for silver was the same as that for a coin of the realm, metal for making new pieces was found by melting coins clipped from circulation. The disappearance from circulation of coinage was damaging to the English economy. It became necessary to devise some means of discouraging silversmiths from melting the coins of the realm, and if possible, to convince the owners of plate to surrender this plate so that it could be converted to coinage. Many Englishmen heeded this call. On March 25, 1697 the statute that encouraged this practice went on the book. Celia Fiennes visited the Earl of Chesterfield in 1698 and she found that at his house at Bretby most of the silver was gone: "I was in severall bedchambers, one had a damaske bed, the other crimson velvet set upon halfe paces, this best was the bride chamber which used to be call'd the Silver roome where the

[61] Jonathan Stone, *English Silver*, 1965, pg. 30.

stands table and fire utensils were all massy silver, but when plaite, noe plaites or dishes and but few salvers." [62]

With this act, the new standard of silver plate was set a level finer than that of the sterling of coinage. In order for the new plate of finer silver to be readily distinguished from sterling standard silver, new hallmarks were introduced at the same time. The worker's mark was to be expressed by the first two letters of his surname. The mark of the craft of the silversmiths also changed from a leopard's head and the lion to the figure of a woman, commonly called Britannia. The figure of the lion's head was erased to denote the year after which the work was made. Thus was introduced the Britannia standard, which persisted until 1720. Although the purity of the standard made it somewhat softer than the older standard, many believed pieces crafted after the placement of the new standard were more serviceable and durable.[63]

The features of sobriety and elegance in form are today much admired in late seventeenth/early eighteenth-century silver. The restrained character of its ornament never obscures or interferes with the function of the piece. These characteristics were not the exclusive property of the Huguenot silversmiths. It is an oversimplification to think that pre-1688 silver was lavishly embossed. One the contrary, silversmiths from this earlier time often produced certain types in simple forms. The list must include the tankard, the barrel of which was always either left plain or given a wreath around the lower half.

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[62] Celia Fiennes, *The Journey of Celia Fiennes*, 1947, p. 171.
[63] Stone, pg. 31.

III. Competing Styles in England – Carolean vs. Dutch

As a result of the arrival of William and Mary, three styles competed for dominance in the silversmithing workshops in London in the 1690s. These three styles can be best described as French Huguenot, Carolean and Dutch. Native London silversmiths adopted some of the designs and decorations of the Dutch style and thus made them their own in a Carolean fashion. The first of the Carolean features to be abandoned was the bold embossed floral ornamentation that appeared mainly on two-handled cups. The most popular and attractive methods from this period of Dutch influence, the grotesque forms and the art of chinoisierie first made popular by the Dutch silversmith Van Vianen, were the next techniques to disappear in the shops. Though chinoisierie did survive in one form or another until the end of the 1690s, by 1700 this Dutch style was all but dead in England. At first, the English-born silversmiths did not attempt to copy the French Huguenot style as they had the Dutch style forty years earlier. Instead they held dearly to another Dutch style, the embossment of the silver surface by a series of parallel vertical flutes. The tankard attributed to Samuel Wastell and marked in 1703 exhibits this technique very well (Plate 18). [64]

Another style of silver was on the market in London at this time. Best described as the "Dutch" school, its characteristics are "auricular" modeling, such as feet and handles cast with true craftsmanship. This "auricular", literally "ear-like" decoration, was a development of Mannerist ornament again popularized by the Dutch van Vianen family; one member of this family, Christian, worked in England in the mid seventeenth

[64] For a more complete discussion of this style, please refer to J.F. Hayward, pgs. 2-3 and Jonathan Stone, pgs. 25-29.

century. In contrast to the Carolean style, much of this ornamentation was confined to the workshops of a small group of Continental craftsmen, including Wolfgang Howzer and Jacob Bodendick. It was also adopted by some English craftsmen such as William Jennings whose tankard provides an example of this "Dutch" technique crafted in 1686 (Plate 19). Its auricular handle and cast dolphin feet are in the tradition of this art.[65] The Dutch technological influence was far-reaching; however, this style of silverwork disappeared by the dawn of the eighteenth century.[66]

Just as some of the Huguenot craftsmen worked from time to time in the more sober English style, so too did certain English silversmiths try their hands at the more richly decorated Huguenot style. Foremost among the later group are the brothers George and Francis Garthorne (Plate 20), and Benjamin Pyne (Plate 21). Whether these masters employed Huguenot journeymen or did in fact master the new style themselves is as yet unknown.

As can be seen, English silver must be examined in terms of style rather than in terms of a maker's mark. Different styles often existed at the same time. By 1705, three predominant styles of English silver existed: Dutch, Carolean and Huguenot. The "English" school was a continuation of the tradition of skillfully chased patterns of scrolls and circles often on thin-gold silver, that one finds in small wares such as saucers and dishes. Handles for smaller pieces were usually made from drawn wire but for larger pieces that required cast handles the technology among the silversmiths was lacking. The monteith, an invention of the 1680s used to display glasses and hold punch, is a good

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[65] Christopher Hartop, *The Huguenot Legacy: English Silver 1680-1760*, 1996, pgs. 57-58.
[66] Hartop, pgs. 57-58.

example of this style (Plate 22). The skill in raising a hemispherical bowl by hammering and then chasing it with scrolls is evident, but the rim is primitive and the air bubbles found in the casting are evidence of shabby work. The Carolean and Dutch schools are confined almost exclusively to typically English items which have no parallel in French silver such as the monteith, the two-handled cup, and the tankard. As Huguenot silver came into fashion, this style was relegated to the provincial silversmiths by the end of the 1710s.[67]

Immigrant silversmiths were nothing new in England. They were a common feature in London during the Middle Ages and England took in thousands of Protestant refugees from the Low Countries during the second half of the sixteenth century. The Huguenots were simply the last trickle in a large stream of immigrants to the area.

IV. Huguenot Silversmiths

One purpose of this study of the Huguenot art of silversmithing has been to examine a group of artifacts to discover common features that make it possible to attribute them to the Huguenot school. For this study, I have encountered no problems of attribution. In most cases, there is a maker's mark to tell us which shop provided a given piece, and, with regard to silver made after 1697, we are nearly always able to discover the name of the master from the records of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths. This technique of attributing style is further helped by the fact that many Huguenots continued to train and live in their tight communities. According to a statute in 1697, all silversmiths had to register and use marks consisting of the first two letters of their

[67] Hartop, pg. 57.

surnames. Apart from their adherence to designs that had been current in their own country, the Huguenots also preserved their identity by using in England marks that were of similar design to those in France. The Parisian silversmiths used their names in some combination with the fleur-de-lys and some other devise surmounted by a crown. Many Huguenot silversmiths adhered to the method of the crown. This group included: Pierre Platel, Peter Archambo, Pierre Harache, Louis Laroche, John Le Sage and Philip Rainaud. The fleur-de-lys, used either above or below the initials, is found in the works by Augustine Courtauld, Edward Feline, Pezé Pilleau, Abraham Roussel and David Willaume. Interestingly, silversmithing is one of the few crafts in which the aim is not to create any particular individuality of style. Silversmiths sought rather to reproduce the techniques of the most skilled among their contemporaries. The uniformity of style among the different masters was perpetuated by the distribution of relying on printed pattern books.

Owing to the destruction of French silver by Louis XIV in order to provide bouillon for his French wars, very few pieces of silver of the period immediately proceeding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes survives. Therefore it is almost impossible to compare French craftsmanship in England and in France. One invaluable source, however, is a pattern book issued for the guidance of French silversmiths during these decades.[68] To judge by the surviving pattern books and the few extant examples of silver, it would seem that the Huguenots in England adopted a style considerably more restrained than contemporary fashions among Parisian silversmiths. While this may be

[68] For reproductions of designs from a French goldsmiths' pattern book see *Oeuvres de Bijouterie et Joaillerie des XVIIe et XVIIIe Siécles*, 1962.

so, it is important to remember that pattern books failed to weigh considerations of cost and the practical problems of making a piece. It may be concluded that the surviving plate on the Continent tends to be less elaborate in design than the contemporary pattern books lead one to expect.

The Huguenot style of silver was based on the vast quantity of ornamental designs produced by three great masters. The pieces created between them led to the majestic Louis XIV style. These three masters were Paul Ducereau (c. 1630-1713), Jean Berain (1637-1711) and Jean Lepautre (1618-82).[69] The decorative style created by these masters was in time translated into terms more suitable for lesser masters by men such as M.P. Mouton of Lyons who published a *Livre de desseins pour toute sorte d'ouvrages d'orfèvrerie*, and by Masson, whose *Nouveaux desseins pour graver d'orfèvrerie* published in Paris illustrate late French Baroque ornament at its richest.

While the Huguenots possessed a large amount of published material to which they might turn for inspiration or example, English silversmiths continued to rely on designs and traditions never permanently recorded on paper. Whereas a number of French pattern books supplied designs for vessels and their decoration, the few that appeared in England were concerned only with engraved ornament. On the other hand, certain silversmiths were in advance of the majority in either adopting or in developing new styles. Amongst these was David Willaume, the maker of the two-handled cup (Plate 23) which, although it was made in 1705, anticipated the standard style of some 20 years later.

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[69] J.F. Hayward, p.5.

Eighteenth century Huguenot silversmiths also swapped molds. Often handles and other plastic details apparently cast from the same mould are found on vessels bearing marks of different smiths. Some silversmiths made the model in their own workshops while others obtained them from a specialized model or pattern maker who did not hesitate to supply different silversmiths with the same pattern for a fee.

One must avoid attributing to the Huguenots greater influence on English style than they actually wielded. Native English and foreign French styles existed side by side for nearly a generation before they were merged into one. The English silversmiths persisted with their plain style, relying on surface quality and excellence in proportion. On the other hand, the Huguenots enriched their work with cast or engraved ornament, which though less rich than would have been considered suitable for a wealthy French patron, conferred dignity and distinction to their pieces that was lacking from the more modest English productions. The Huguenots were perfectly capable of producing the plainer pieces, which often required less labor. It is doubtful whether an average English-born silversmith could have turned out pieces equal to or more extravagant than the Huguenot plate.

From the time of the Huguenots' first arrival in England we find pieces of silver of sober design that bear a Huguenot's mark. It is highly probable that these concessions to the English taste for simplicity were made at the wishes of clients. Taste, afterall, was the ultimate factor in determining design in eighteenth century silver. While many Huguenot silversmiths preferred to decorate their wares, they were prepared to accept orders for a more subdued taste from consumers who preferred silver of a simpler design.

The famous Huguenot craftsman Paul de Lamerie is a case in point. The earliest recorded piece by Paul de Lamerie in London dates from 1711/12, but it was not until he had been working as an independent silversmith for eight years that we find him producing the opulent pieces that are characteristic of Huguenot style: witness the wine-cooler that he made for the Duke of Sutherland in 1719 (Plate 24). Eventually he obtained many commissions for elaborately worked plate and created some of the richest pieces displayed in the country (Plates 25 and 26). Even as a famous Huguenot craftsman, to the end of his life he followed his customers wishes and produced a limited amount of undecorated plate.[70]

French forms, like the helmet-shaped ewer, and ornament like cut-card work, were already in use by the time large numbers of Huguenot immigrants began arriving in the late 1680s. For example, a bowl and cover can be found in Queen's College collection from 1670.[71] Huguenots could produce both plain silver and elaborately decorated wares. The true importance of the Huguenot "revolution" lay in its timing, for it provided a large, skilled workforce at just the right moment to meet consumer demands. The Huguenot's refugee status made them all the more eager to work for less money and to labor more diligently than their English counterparts.

The Huguenots crafted a clear simplicity in their designs which relied greatly on fine proportions. While the designs boasted purer forms, the applied work signified work done by a Huguenot craftsman. One way to distinguish between English and Huguenot

[70] For more information on the career of Paul de Lamerie, please refer to J.F. Hayward pgs 7-8.
[71] J.F. Hayward, pg. 31.

work of this period is the applied artwork. The English craft from this period lacks this technique.

The changes that took place in silver design at this time led to innovations not only in the form of the vessal, but also in the technique of manufacture. The differences of technique contributed to the final break between the Huguenot silversmiths and their English counterparts. The Carolean and Dutch styles had, with a few exceptions, called for lavish embossed ornament. In order to execute this embossed ornament, it was necessary to work with paper-thin sheets of metal in order to stretch the silver out without excessive labor to the shapes required by design. The Carolean floral patterns, while beautiful at a distance, often lacked proportion and solidity, giving the impression that the worker had adjusted the process in order to achieve maximum effect at a minimum cost for the precious metal. Embossed ornaments could not be executed on very narrow surfaces and certain parts, such as handles, that had always been casted. It is in the production of these small cast details that the weakness of the pre-Huguenot silversmiths is revealed. They are often quite rough from the casting and at best they were carelessly finished. The French style with its heavy moldings and ornament cast in high relief called for different techniques of manufacture and the familiarity with these techniques doubtless gave the Huguenots a considerable advantage over their English competitors. The new Huguenot style required extravagant uses of silver. Whereas before the ornament had been worked into the walls of the vessels, which were of an uniform thickness throughout, now the ornament, cast separately and applied, greatly added to the weight. Therefore the straps and leaves, so characteristic of the Huguenot ornament of this time, were completed with this technique.

Perhaps the most imposing feature of this new style was the imaginative use of plastic decoration. There is little doubt that the ability to produce sculptural forms of great majesty was a Huguenot achievement. We find in this ornament a host of sculptural details, finely modeled caryatid handles, bold masks, rich moldings, and florid foliage. The earlier Dutch-influenced English plastic ornament was quickly viewed as a provincial trend and was replaced by the newer Baroque style.

After 1700 the French taste became more dominant and Huguenots crafted the most important pieces dating from this time. Alongside this rich Huguenot style, another technique emerged. This technique has been attributed to the London silversmiths and can best be described as a reduction of French Huguenot designs to their fundamental form, free of all ornamentation. Many believe that this style is of pure English origin; this stoic rendering of the same design, it can be argued, is the most original work of cultural transference between the Huguenot immigrants and the English. This solemn style perhaps seems particularly well suited to display the English artistic temperament. However, if this were the case, the assimilation of the Huguenot technique would be completed just fifteen years after the Huguenots' emergence as a major immigrant community in London. This claim must be regarded with reserve, as similar fashions were adopted throughout Western Europe and exact examples can be found in the work of silversmiths in Germany, the Low Countries and Scandinavia. With examples coming from all over Europe, there can be no doubt that even this modified, sober version of Huguenot style was also derived from native French sources and then exported after the Revocation to the surrounding Protestant countries. In this style no ornament was applied; forms were instead based solely on the rectangle, the hexagon and the octagon.

To create effect, the silversmith relied upon the excellence of proportion and the contrasting reflections from the smooth surfaces. Nearly all kinds of plate were based on this format. Large bowls and dishes to small cups and saucers were produced on a hexagonal or octagonal plan. An unmarked example of this style attributed to an early eighteenth-century silversmith can be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Plate 27).

V. Assimilation

At first, the Huguenots had a difficult time assimilating into English society. They tended to marry among themselves. The Huguenot silversmiths formed a tightly knit group of craftsmen who could work for each other if the need arose. Therefore, while a mark bearing the name of an English craftsman could in fact be attributed to either an Englishman or a Huguenot, a piece assayed with a Huguenot's mark can most definitely be considered a true Huguenot piece.

Towards the end of the period, the differences between the styles of the Huguenot and native-born craftsmen became even less marked. The latter assimilated much of the Huguenot manner, and by 1720 it is no longer possible to identify a piece of Huguenot silver by the style; instead it is necessary to look at the maker's mark. The ornament is lighter in character. In place of the heavy plastic detail and bold relief work of the earlier Huguenots who had been trained in France, the later generations practiced more delicate interlace strapwork and trelliswork typical of the Régence style in France. This strapwork was used by both Huguenot and English-born silversmiths and was executed either by casting or engraving. While exhibiting the same techniques, the pieces produced in Huguenot shops are more ornate and richly decorated.

By the time of the second generation of Huguenot craftsmen, the process of assimilation was beginning to occur. Famous English silversmiths realized that they had to utilize these new Huguenot techniques in order to remain competitive in London. English silversmiths such as Benjamin Pyne and Anthony Nelme employed Huguenot craftsmen and in turn triumphed over other native craftsmen who continued to utilize the old techniques.

Changes occurred in the way silver was sold. Traditionally the trades of banking and silversmithing had been linked: in Sir Walter Scott's *The Fortunes of Nigel*, George Heriot, the goldsmith to James I, says to Nigel, "I am both a goldsmith and live by lending money as well as by selling plate."[72] There is an obvious connection between these two trades, as both dealt with the investment of capital. As tradesmen at the time often waited for years before their bills were settled, only a silversmith who was also a banker, holding people's money by deposit, was able to fund large orders of plate on credit. A silversmiths like David Willaume, who took money as deposit and paid interest, used the banking trade because it gave him a greater liquidity in his business as a supplier.[73]

The shift to the new French fashion did not happen without some struggles within the London silversmith community. The native-born silversmiths tried to resist both the new methods of crafting plate and the émigré rivals who introduced these methods to them. The achievement of this immigrant community in obtaining many important commissions for silver within decades of the artisans' arrival is nothing short of amazing.

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[72] Sir Walter Scott, *The Fortunes of Nigel*, pg. 346.
[73] Hartop, pg. 47.

The speed with which they gained notoriety and predominance can be attributed to a combination of favorable circumstances and their willingness to accept lower rates than native silversmiths for their plate. The fact that these Huguenot silversmiths were willing to work at "miserable rates" explains their success in the English silver trade during the period 1685-1715. Their poverty and refugee status made them willing to work long hours at low rates, and they added significant numbers to the labor force at the moment that the industry most required them. The popularity of the latest "French" style increased the popularity of these silversmiths. These silversmiths in turn filled the vacuum left by their English counterparts who lost many commissions because of their demands for higher fees and their lack of schooling on the latest techniques used to fashion the popular Louis XIV style.

Londoners regarded the immigration of skilled workmen to England with mixed emotions. While the more enlightened and educated were sympathetic, members of the trade guilds in London viewed these newcomers as unwelcome competitors. Numerous attempts were made by the Goldsmiths' Company to prevent the Huguenots from practicing their trade in London. The Minutes Book of the Company first mention a Huguenot silversmith in July 1678:

> At this Court Sir John Shuter declared that he was desired by the Lord Mayor to acquaint the Company that there was a bill pending Parliament for the licensing of Protestant Strangers to come from parts beyond the seas and here to exercise manual occupations without any let or molestation which if granted would very much tend to the prejudice of the natives of this kingdom and in especial to the artificers of this Company as he conceived, And therefore advised that this Court would cause some enquiry to be made in what posture the affair stood, imitating that he had heard the Corporation of

> Weavers and some other Companies Handicrafts men did oppose the passage of the said bill.[74]

While this proposed bill did not become law, on July 28, 1681 Charles II did grant "Letters of Denization" to these craftsmen. With the passage of these "Letters", the King allowed foreign Protestants to exercise their trades in certain locations and to enter the usual seven-year apprenticeships.

The chief contribution of these foreign craftsmen was the importation of styles that were as yet unknown in England. This advantage allowed these artisans to obtain important commissions from rich consumers who wanted the latest fashions. Foreign artists and craftsmen often succeeded in obtaining positions at Court. These positions freed an alien craftsman from the obligation to serve a seven-year apprenticeship. As court appointees, they automatically became freemen in their guild.

One of the first silversmiths to receive "Letters of Denization" under Charles II was Pierre Harache, arguably the most talented Huguenot silversmith. Born in Rouen, France, Harache arrived in London in October of 1681 with his stock-in-trade.[75] Men like Harache, who left France with their liquid assets, were able to set themselves up for business immediately. On July 21, 1682 an order of the Lord Mayor and Council of Alderman of the City of London was read requiring that "the said Pierre Harache shall be admitted into the freedom of this City by Redemption into the Company of the Goldsmiths paying to Mr. Chamberlain to the City's use of forty six shillings and eightpence." At the same time the following certificate was presented to the hall: "These

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[74] Walter S. Prideux reprinted the minutes in abbreviated form in a work entitled *Memorials of the Goldsmith's Company, 1335-1815.* (London: 1896-97)

are to certify all whom it may concern that Pierre Harache, lately come from France for to avoid persecution and live quietly, is not only a Protestant, but by his Majesty's bounty is made a free denizen, that he may settle here freely with his family in token of whereof we have given him this certificate." Within a few years Harache began to supply plate to major patrons such as the Duke of Somerset, and it is clear that he employed a large workforce.[76]

Harache was one of the fortunate few to receive a warm reception at the Goldsmith Hall. On July 27, one week after Harache's entrance into the guild, the Lord Mayor and Court of Alderman made a similar order in respect of another equally talented Huguenot in the silversmithing community, Jean Louis.[77] This decision was not accepted among the English craftsmen. Jean Louis' petition for entrance into the society was not approved until November 11, 1683. As Hugh Tait observes in his article about Huguenot craftsmen, "again and again, the same pattern seems to occur: the more gifted and influential the alien goldsmith, the more unwelcoming his reception at Goldsmiths' Hall."[78] After these first two, who arrived in one of the first waves from France in 1681 or 1682, no further Huguenot silversmiths appear to have taken out denization papers until December 1687, when they were granted to Jean Harache, evidently a relative of Pierre Harache, Daniel Garnier, and David Willaume.[79]

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[75]Hugh Tait, "London Huguenot Silver" in *Huguenots in Britain and their French background 1550-1800*, ed. Irene Scouloudi, 1985, p. 279.
[76] Arthur Grimwade, *The London Goldsmiths 1697-1830*, 1990, p. 533.
[77] J.F. Hayward, pg. 16-17.
[78] Tait, pg. 91.
[79] Joan Evans. 'Huguenot goldsmiths in England and Ireland', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*. 1933.

There appears to be a curious lack of consistency in the attitude of the Goldsmith's Company to these Huguenot silversmiths, as we find the guild allowing some to enter their marks within a short time of their taking out denization papers, while the Company continued to raise objections to admitting them their freedom in the community. An example of this anomaly can be found in the case of Daniel Garnier. He became a denizen, as mentioned above, in 1687, and registered his mark at the hall in 1691. However, the Goldsmith's Company did not given him his freedom until 1696, and then only by the order of the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen. David Willaume was better treated as his mark was registered within a year of his receiving denizen papers, and he was admitted his freedom in 1693.[80]

How were these alien silversmiths, who were refused the right to assay and touch, able to earn a living? A number were content to serve as journeymen in the workshops of English-born silversmiths. It appears that others took up residence in what is known as the Liberty of the Blackfriars the precinct of the former monastery of Blackfriars. When the religious houses had been dissolved after the Reformation, the lay person who came to inhabit the former monastic buildings lay claim to the privileges and legal exemptions that had once been held by the religious foundation. Even as late as the end of the seventeenth-century, these long-obsolete privileges were still subject to dispute. In July 1698 a committee called to answer this very question found that Blackfriars lay within the City's jurisdiction and that none of the Huguenots could trade there. With this ruling, aliens who were not free of any Company were thereby excluded from setting up shop

[80] J.F. Hayward, pgs. 18-19.

within the precincts of the City. Another method tried by the Huguenots, and looked upon with disapproval by the London silversmiths, was the old device of inducing freeman of the Company, for a price, to take their work with his own to the Hall for assay and touch.

By 1711, the Huguenots' work was too well known in London society for the English silversmiths to be able to suppress it. Instead, a group of native silversmiths asked that the price of plate be advanced. In order to compete in the disadvantageous circumstances that had been forced upon them, the Huguenots had improved the standard of workmanship without asking for higher prices. In fact, these higher standards of workmanship were an inevitable consequence of the new fashion that substituted cast for embossed work. In any case, the London-born silversmiths found themselves forced to accept these new standards of finish or lose their business to the Huguenots.

The most famous of the Huguenot silversmiths in this later period was Paul de Lamerie. He had a sizeable workshop and in his time he employed thirteen apprentices. He sold silver directly to private clients and therefore was not simply a supplier to other silversmiths of the era. However, unlike the most well known English silversmith of his day, George Wickes, he was forced to supply silversmiths with some finished plate. The most well known example of this is a pair of wine coolers that formed part of the large order for plate placed by the Earl of Chesterfield in 1727 with Paul Crespin. Crespin overstruck Lamerie's mark with this own before delivering them to Jewel House. Other pieces sold by Lamerie were obviously marked with Crespin's symbol before being overstruck by Lamerie. This gives credence to the view that there was considerable exchange of wares between craftsmen. Later in his career, according to documents found

in the Sun Insurance Policies sold among silversmiths in London, Lamerie entered a partnership with an English silversmith, Ellis Gamble, the engraver under whom William Hogarth served his apprenticeship. For five years, from 1723-28, this partnership proved to be lucrative; however, in 1728 the partnership dissolved for reasons unknown. Lamerie supplied clients overseas, in Russia and America, but for the most part his clients were from England. These clients were also not generally from the aristocratic elite. While he was appointed a Royal Goldsmith in 1716, his mark does not appear on any royal plate. Instead most of his clients were prosperous landowners such as the Earl of Mountrath (Plate 28) and Admiral Anson. His standing in the trade, even among native-born silversmiths was considerable and it was only because of poor health in the late 1740s that he did not serve as Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company. He died in London in 1751 and his obituary, which appeared in the London Evening Post, spoke of Lamerie as "particularly famous for making fine ornamental Plate, and ... very instrumental in bringing that Branch of Trade to the Perfection it is now in."[81]

Paul Crespin was very closely connected to Lamerie. His mark appears on some of the most ornate silver of the early eighteenth-century. He made his silver for a number of influential clients such as Jewel House, the office of the Royal Household responsible for the distribution of silver to ambassadors and other state officials of the state (Plates 29, 30 and 31), Lord Stanhope (Plate 32) and the Duke of Somerset (Plate 33). The records of the Jewel House provide an overview of those things necessary for public life

[81] Hartop, pg. 49. For more information on Paul de Lamerie, please refer to *Paul de Lamerie: The Work of England's Master Silversmith*, 1990 and "Paul de Lamerie: Businessmen or Craftsmen?", *The Silver Society Journal*, 6, Winter, 1994.

at the varying levels.[82] As ambassadors and aristocrats of England, these men were looked upon as the personal representatives of the monarchy. They were expected to entertain in a magnificent style complete with both gilt and white, or regular, plate that was often of the latest French fashion.

Instead of being a supplier of silver like Englishman George Wickes of the same era, he was a manufacturer. Another man to be added to this group was not a Huguenot at all. John White was a retailer who sold the plate of the Lamerie and Crespin workshops to the royal household in the 1720s and '30s.[83]

By this time the barriers between the Huguenot and the native craftsmen were all but broken down. The closely-knit communities of the late seventeenth century and the intricate web of specialist workers were being gradually replaced with new networks of Huguenot and non-Huguenot craftsmen. The assimilation process was complete.

Despite of their success in gaining important orders and assimilating into London society, one difference between Huguenot and native-born craftsmen remained. The Huguenots do not seem to have acquired great fortunes during the period of discussion. The names of relatives of nearly all of the important Huguenot silversmiths appear on the lists of needy people receiving charity from the Royal Bounty funds. One great exception was David Willaume, who eventually became Lord of the Manor of Tingrith in

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[82] Hartop, pg. 19.

[83] Please refer to Arthur Grimwade, *The London Goldsmiths 1697-1830*, 1990 for more information about these trade patterns. The direct relationship between John White and de Lamerie and Harache was found on pg. 737.

Bedforshire after his marriage to another well-known Huguenot silversmith, Anne Tanqueray.[84]

This divide between the wealth of native and Huguenot craftsmen can be attributed to several factors. As has been noted earlier, Huguenot society looked favorably on charitable acts to help fellow refugees. Many of these adept artisans used their commissions to contribute to the aid societies and to secure passage for family members who were still living in France. Also, because of the haste with which many Huguenots left their homes in France, income and wealth was left behind; this short period of study was not a sufficient amount of time to rebuild fortunes in a new country. Finally, this divide in wealth can be credited to the Huguenots' willingness to work for lower wages in order to gain commissions from skeptical English patrons.

VI. The Role of the Elite in Silversmithing

How revolutionary was the impact of the Huguenots on English silversmithing? In the 1930s Joan Evans exclaimed "any history of the craft in England from 1680 to 1775 must chiefly concern itself with Huguenot smiths". It has been assumed that the Huguenots "revolutionized" the trade with the introduction of new forms and styles as well as their technological innovations.[85] It is also necessary to look at the cosmopolitan elite at the top of the social scale who set the fashions for new types of silver for the serving of new types of cuisine.

Historians traditionally credit Huguenots with revolutionizing the silversmithing trade in England, while their Protestantism has been credited with introducing the fashion

[84] The author could not locate this ledger from the Royal Bounty funds. The fact about the intermarriage of two prominent Huguenot families was taken from J.F. Hayward, pg. 12.

for plain silver that is now known as "Queen Anne" style. The real significance of the Huguenot influx, however, was that this immigrant community provided a new and sizeable workforce that was ready to accept low wage rates and was skilled in the new techniques at a period when the consumer base was escalating to an all-time high. It was really the buyer and not the craftsman who was the driving force behind the adoption of new styles and new types of silverware. The international elite traveled and were exposed to innovative designs as well as new foods and table decorations. The superior technical skills of the Huguenots helped in bringing new styles in silverware to England. It was during this period that silver became a decoration for the dining table, ousting the elaborate medieval displays of food; new trends in eating and drinking required a host of new types of silver. These new fashions filtered down the social scale and as the consumer market expanded, silver reached a broader cross-section of the populace. Silver was an essential symbol of one's place in society, not just for the regal or the aristocratic, but for the middling sort as well.

In addition, after land silver remained one of the most common ways to invest one's capital. A good example of this can be found in the Earl of Warrington. Having settled his debts he set about improving his estate and the "laying down" of plate. The Earl is exceptional as he kept an account of every piece of silver he owned together with the weight recorded in his own hand, another hint that silver could be very important to an eighteenth-century financial portfolio.[86] Silver was an asset that was readily convertible into cash and could make up a large portion of a man's wealth. The lion's

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[85] Hartop pg. 64.
[86] Hartop, pg. 23.

share of the cost of silverware was the raw material and that was the part that could be converted into cash; sometimes the value of the workmanship was also appreciated, as evidenced by Lord Stanhope's comments that "The workmanship of most of it is almost of equal value to the Bullion."[87] For aristocrats as well as the urban bourgeoisie a display of silver was necessary to maintain one's social position. As Norbert Elias stated in his book, *Court Society*, "what in retrospect generally appears to us today as a 'luxury' is ... anything but superfluous in a society so constricted ... In a society where every outward manifestation of a person has special significance, expenditure on prestige and display [was] for the upper classes a necessity which they [could not] avoid."[88]

The relationship between silversmith and consumer during this period was not that of artist and patron. One must think instead in terms of consumer demands caused by new fashions in dining and new beverages such as tea, coffee, and chocolate rather than the close relationship between craftsman and customer. In the complex nature of the silversmith trade, peopled by apprentices, journeymen and masters, the consumer was often far removed from the men and women involved in making a piece. It was the silversmith's clients, such as Charles Seymour, sixth Duke of Somerset, who commissioned many works from the venerable Pierre Harache workshop, or the middling consumer who created new demands in style and the new types of table silver. The exigency for all things French was shaped by this consumerism. The final design did not rest with the silversmith, but rather with his client. Because of the cost of the metal, plate was most often made to order and not produced and sold from stock. When placing an

[87] "The Weights of The Old Silver of late, as weighed in 1756", Lord Stanhope, West Kent Archives Office, Maidstone, U1590/E14.

order, the patron was shown several pattern books and made his decisions based on his own stylistic preferences. The fact that skilled craftsman such as Paul de Lamerie could create both very ornate and simple works can doubtless be explained by the need to meet the clients' taste.

While the nobility and gentry gave large commissions to the Huguenots, the royal family gave most of their commissions to English-born silversmiths. So little of the royal plate of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century survives that it is difficult to make definite conclusions about its original composition, but it has been documented that despite his early patronage to Huguenot craftsmen, William III's commissions went first to Charles Shelley and then to the brothers Francis and Charles Garthorne. The Garthornes adopted the new French style whole-heartedly. From the Lord Chamberlain's account, we know that William III also patronized the Huguenot, Phillip Rollos, although to a lesser extent. Queen Anne employed the Garthornes and subsequently Anthony Nelme and Benjamin Pyne. Amongst the makers of the surviving pieces, Philip Rollos, Samuel Margas, James Fraillon and Anne Tanqueray, all Huguenots, are represented.

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[88] Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, 1983, p. 53

CHAPTER IV

Conclusion

The Huguenot silversmiths from 1685-1715 accelerated the assimilation of the larger community of Huguenots into London culture. Sociologists suggest that in order for an immigrant community to assimilate into a host culture, three generations are necessary. The Huguenots reached this significant assimilation level in only two generations. This can be proven in both historical documents and decorative art styles. The rapid integration of the silversmiths into the native guilds and communities demonstrated the rising importance of individuality over nationality. Ironically, the assimilation process was facilitated by worldwide admiration for the very French culture which the Huguenots' had rejected.

The Huguenots carried a sense of disenchantment toward their home country of France. Louis XIV and his court repeatedly changed laws and decrees making life for the Huguenots unbearable. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, Huguenots found a Protestant life impossible in their native country. The Huguenots who fled France prior to the Revocation relinquished all expectations of returning to their homes. This left the Huguenots with a forward-looking perspective and encouraged them to make the most of opportunities available to them in London.

While these refugees embraced a nation tolerant of their Protestant ideals, they did not wish to give up their religious beliefs or their French language. The number of refugees diminished in the years after the Revocation, and living with two religions and languages became increasingly more difficult. The decline in immigration also greatly impaired the likelihood of Huguenot marriages. The Huguenot doctrine brought from France prevented intermarriages. While most new arrivals married other refugees in their neighborhoods, their children and grandchildren often intermarried with the English. With the marriage pool dwindling after 1700, the church leaders were forced to adopt a less rigid policy. The loosening of ecclesiastical laws coupled with the construction of new Anglican churches in mixed communities provided an opportunity for the Huguenot community to be absorbed rather quickly.

A pre-existing alignment of ideals between the Huguenot émigrés and the subjects of the Protestant English kings also simplified integration. The religious fears of the Huguenots were allayed in 1688-89 by the Glorious Revolution. Many ties to the land across the Channel through commissions, travels and similar Protestant beliefs made allegiance to a Protestant king an attractive end. The Anglican Church followed more rituals than the Calvinist French Church the Huguenots had subscribed to in France. These Huguenots, brought up in the era of absolutist monarchy under Louis XIV in France, felt a psychological strain because of the contrast between the strict and somber ways of their church and the highly ceremonial society of France. The Anglican Church provided comfortable habits similar to the ritualized society they left in France, with an anti-Popish stance that was familiar and enlivening.

At the beginning of this period in England, three styles co-existed in the silversmithing trade: French, Carolean and Dutch. By 1715 the French technique, perfected by the Huguenots, emerged as the most sought after not only in England but the whole of Europe. The Huguenot silver style is based on several cast or engraved ornamental designs and original use of plastic decoration. Typical design features include fine proportions and applied artwork. The French style, based on heavy ornament and cast in high relief, required liberal use of silver. Whereas the Carolean and Dutch styles displayed ornament worked into the sides of vessels with a uniform thickness throughout. The Huguenot style included ornament cast separately from the main piece and later applied to the item. This greatly increased the weight, and therefore the worth, of a product.

Added prosperity after the Glorious Revolution in 1688 increased commissions for the Huguenots. Many members of the elite invested their capital into silver pieces. Silver, unlike land, was viewed as an asset that could be readily converted into cash and thus formed an essential part of many financial portfolios. For the first time in the seventeenth century, demand for silver far outweighed the supply available to smiths. The European taste for French fashions further drove demand for goods produced by the Huguenots. French customs of eating and drinking differed from those in England at this time. The demand for such goods such as chocolate pots, tureens, ewers and sauce boats in a country that had never experienced *dining á la française* was great. The elite sought to stock their silver vaults with these items to impress their counterparts. English craftsmen slowly forged working relationships with the newcomers to gain commissions for French-styled goods. This facilitated patronage of the Huguenot craftsmen both

directly and indirectly. The valuable skills of the Huguenot silversmiths soon outweighed any prejudices related to their foreign status.

In the early immigration period, the Huguenot silversmiths and their families had a hard time assimilating themselves into English society. Huguenots tended to form workshops in their communities and English guilds were very wary of accepting the newcomers. By the time the second generation began to craft silver in London, the process of assimilation was underway. English silversmiths realized that they needed to learn the Huguenot techniques to remain competitive in the London trade. This process resulted in friction. The Huguenot's ability to gain key commissions from prosperous Londoners added to this hostility. These Huguenots, because of their immigré status and their need for money to support their families and to fund other family members coming from France, would work for lower wages. They filled a void created by their English counterparts whose demands for higher fees and lack of training in the new style explains their loss of several key commissions.

By 1715, the assimilation process was complete. The tightly formed web of late seventeenth-century Huguenot craftsmen began to grow, as new networks of native born and immigré relationships developed. A line was drawn between the role of manufacturer and retailer. Very often the Huguenot craftsman acted as the manufacturer while his English counterpart sold his partner's goods throughout London and beyond.

The key circumstances of disillusionment with France, ideological alignment with the English people, and the popularity of French-styled goods fostered a distinct assimilation experience. This process allowed the Huguenots to avoid much of the usual skepticism and suspicion directed at foreigners by the native born. Because of the

proliferation of distinctive styles of silversmithing during this era, this assimilation can be tracked concretely through the fusion of three individual silver styles into one beautiful, and uniquely English, variety.

APPENDIX

Plate 1

Two-Handled Cup. John Boddington, 1697. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Plate 2

Two-Handled Cup. Pierre Platel, 1705. Ashmolean Museum.

Plate 3

Two-Handled Cup. David Willaume, 1705. Private Collection.

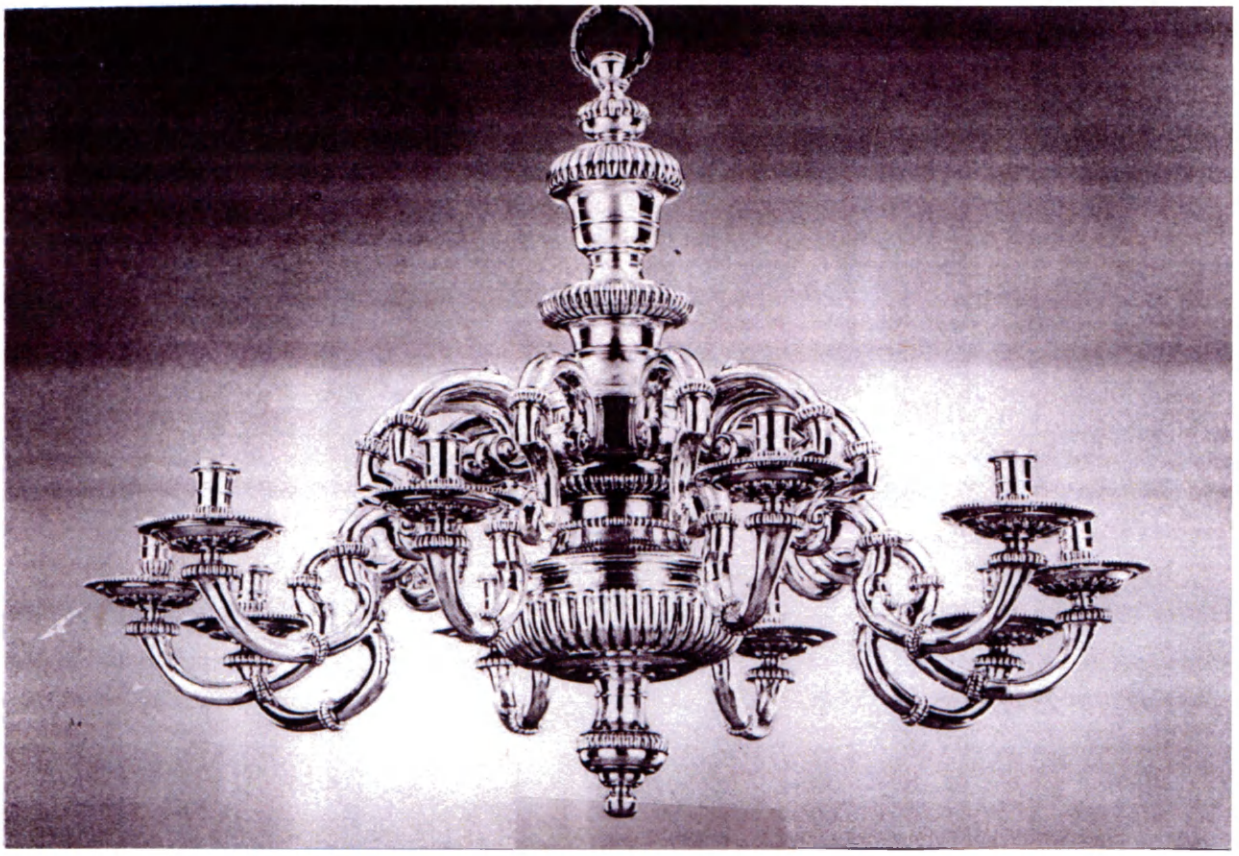
Plate 4

Two-Handled Cup. Louis Cuny, 1702. Private Collection.

Plate 5

Two-Handled Cup. Paul de Lamerie, 1723. Private Collection.
The arms of the Honorable George Treby, M.P. are engraved.

Plate 6



Chandelier. Daniel Garnier, 1691-1697. Colonial Williamsburg.

Plate 7

Candlestick. Thomas Merry, 1712/13. Colonial Williamsburg.

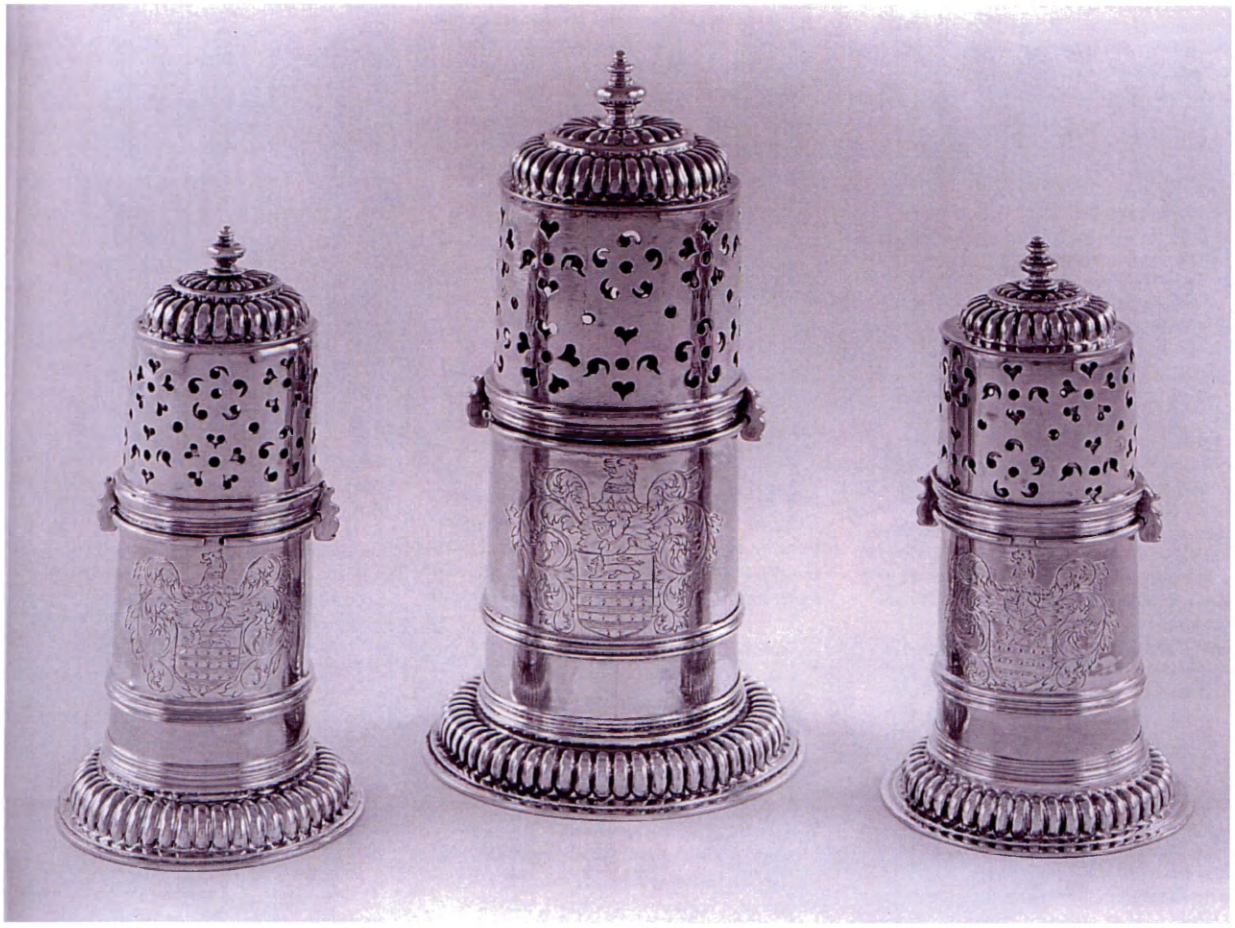
Plate 8

Tankard. Edward Gladwin, 1670/71. Clark Art Institute.

Plate 9

Tankard. Paul de Lamerie, 1716/17. Clark Art Institute.

Plate 10



Set of Three Casters. George Garthorne, 1694/95. Clark Art Institute.

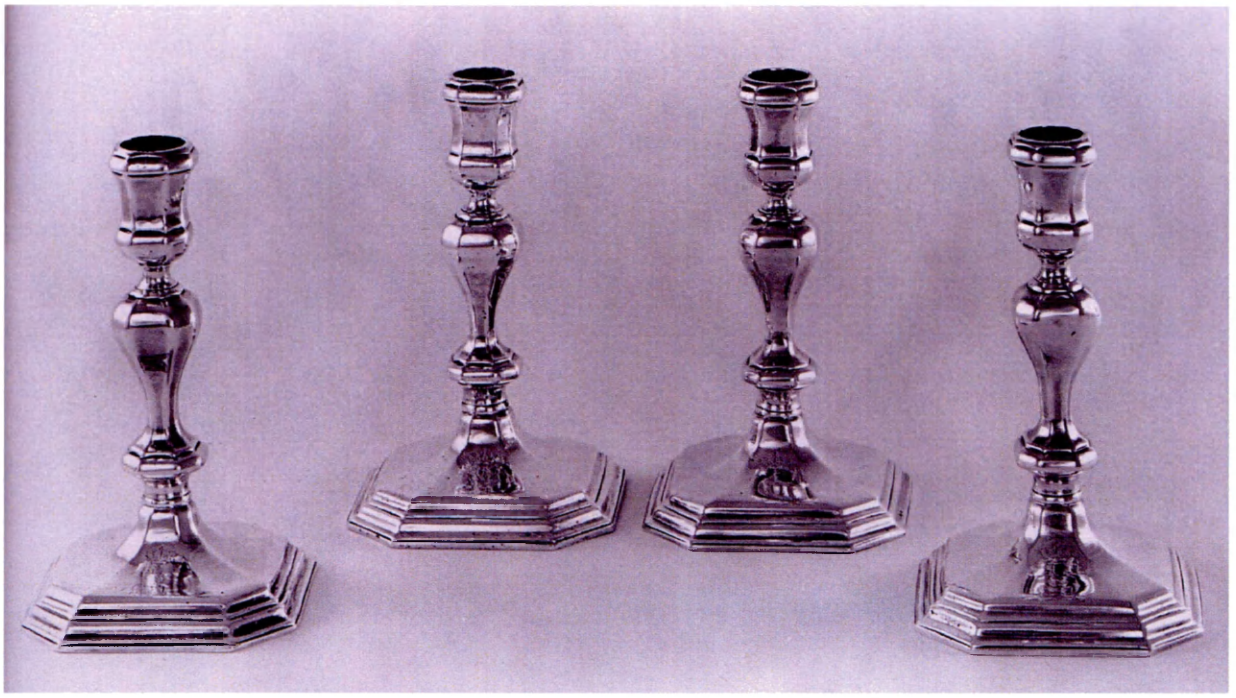
Plate 11

Pair of Casters. Pierre Harrache, 1698. Clark Art Insitute.

Plate 12

Pair of Candlesticks. Pierre Platel, 1702/3. Clark Art Institute.

Plate 13

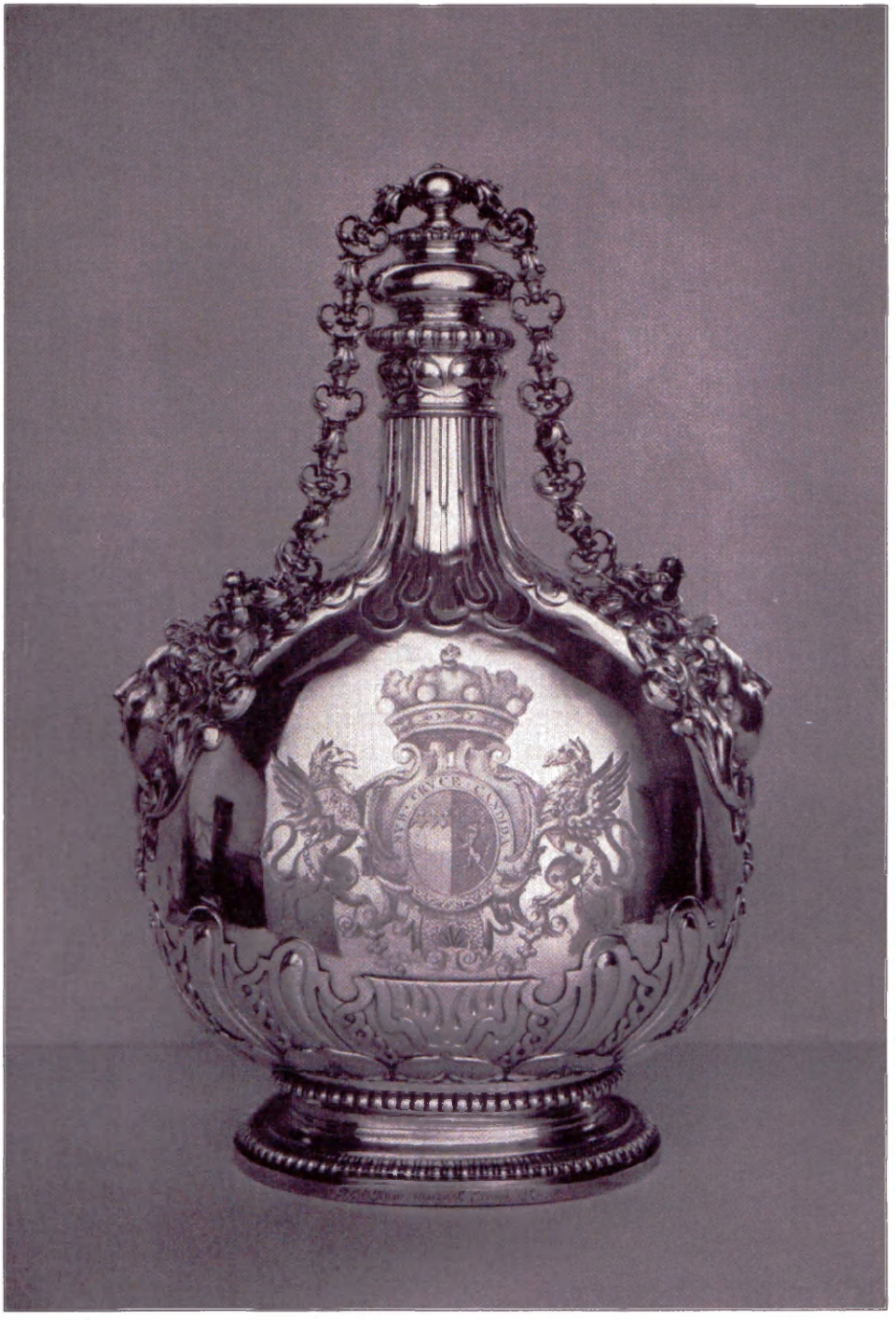


Set of Four Candlesticks. Anthony Nelme, 1714/15. Clark Art Institute.

Plate 14

Ewer. Pierre Harrache, 1697. Vinters' Company.

Plate 15



Wine Bottle. Pierre Harrache, 1699. Eton College.

Plate 16

Tureen. Simon Pantin, approx. 1726. Hermitage Museum.

Plate 17

Ecuelle. Pierre Platel, 1704. Private Collection.

Plate 18

Tankard. Samuel Wastell, 1703. St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford.

Plate 19

Tankard. William Jennings, 1686. The Alan and Simone Hartman Collection.

Plate 20

Wine Bottle. George Garthorne, 1690. Royal Plate, Buckingham Palace.

Plate 21

Standing Cup. Benjamin Pyne, 1705. Pewterers' Company.

Plate 22

Monteith. William Gibson, 1698. The Alan and Simone Hartman Collection.

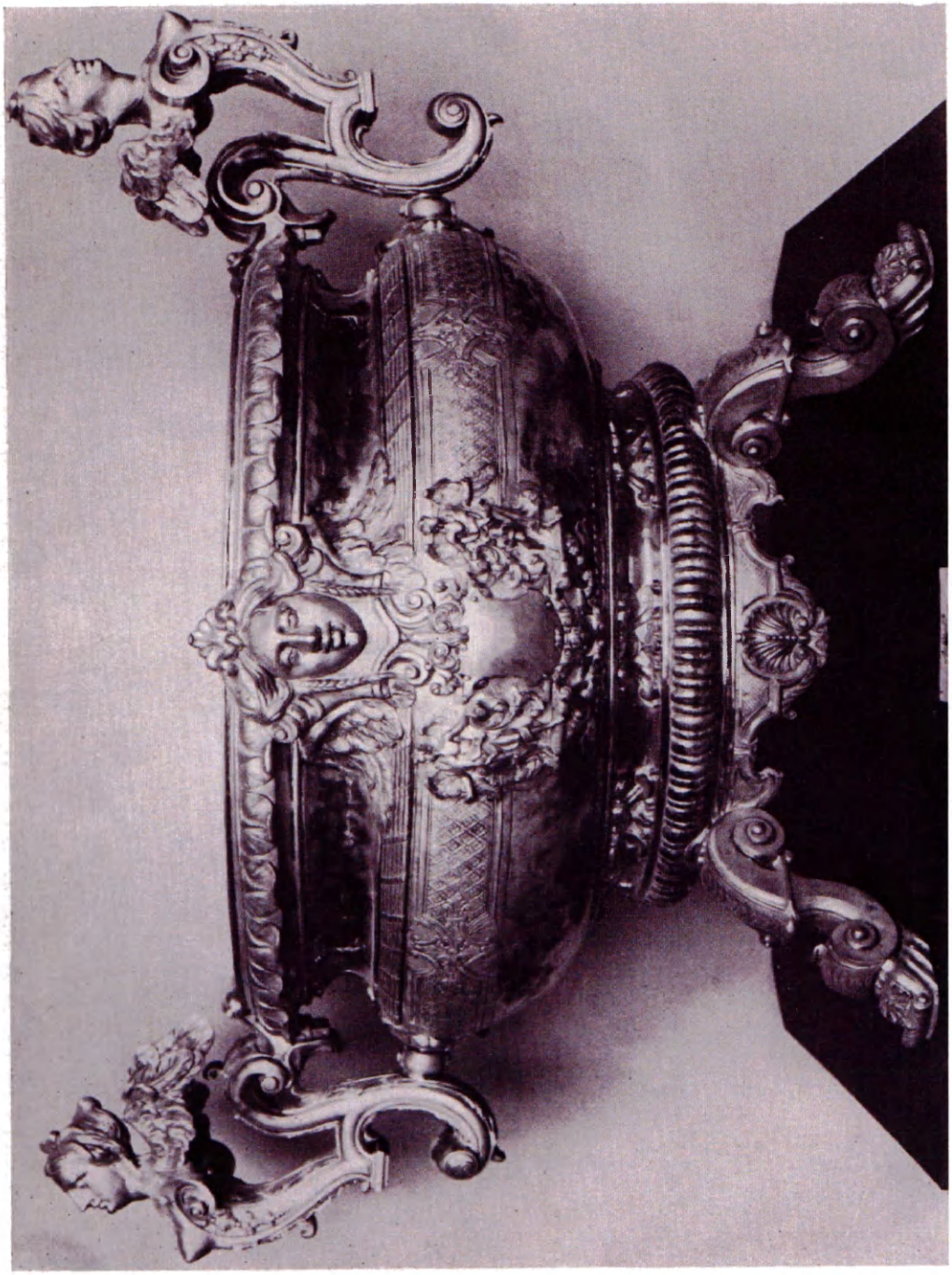
Plate 23

Two-Handled Cup. David Willaume, 1705. Private Collection. (Also Plate 3)

Plate 24

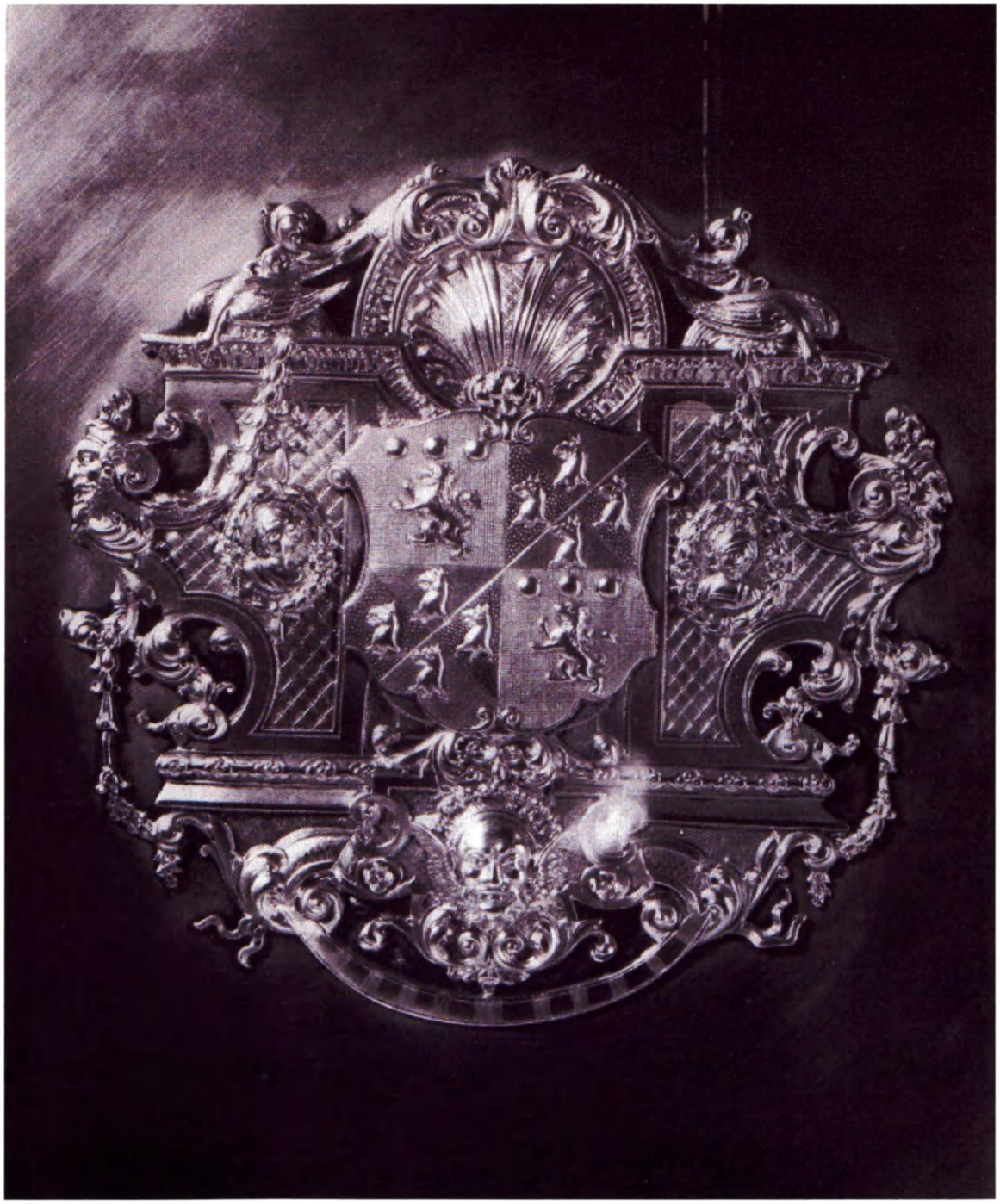
Two-Handled Cup. Paul de Lamerie, 1723. Private Collection. (Also Plate 5)

Plate 25



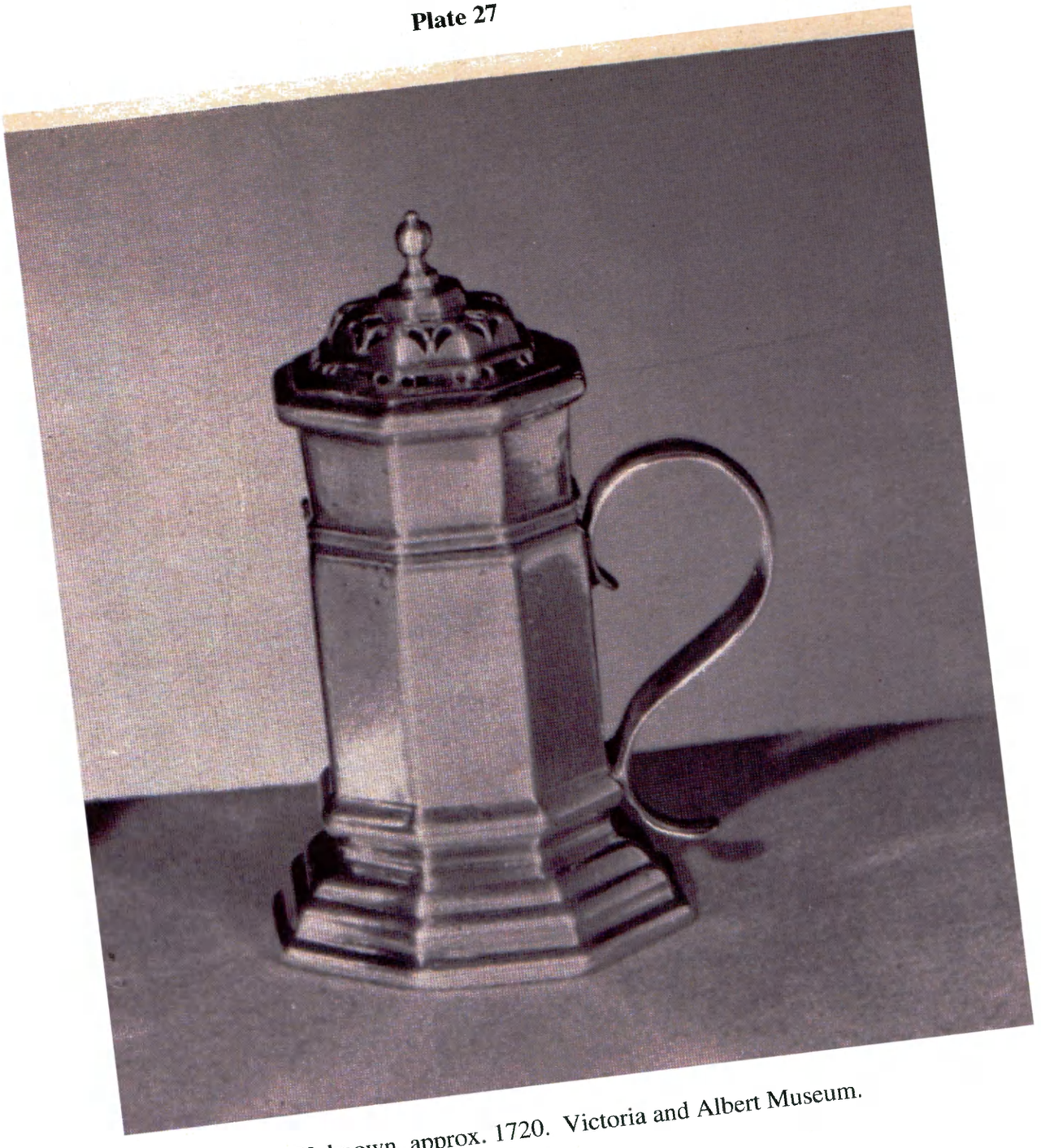
Wine-Cooler. Paul de Lamerie, 1726. Hermitage Museum.

Plate 26



Detail work of a cast done by Paul de Lamerie for Hon. George Treby, M.P., 1723.

Plate 27



Dedger. Maker Unknown, approx. 1720. Victoria and Albert Museum.

Plate 28

Basket. Paul de Lamerie, 1739. The Alan and Simone Hartman Collection.

Plate 29

Pair of Soup Tureens. Paul Crespin, 1726. The Alan and Simone Hartman Collection.

Plate 30

Four Candlesticks. Paul Crespin, 1727. The Alan and Simone Hartman Collection.

Plate 31

Pair of Casters. Paul Crespin, 1727. The Alan and Simone Hartman Collection.

Plate 32

Plateau. Paul Crespin, 1749. The Alan and Simone Hartman Collection.

Plate 33

Soup Tureen and Stand. Paul Crespin, 1740. Toledo Museum of Art.

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